

USSR-USA SUMMIT

Moscow, May 29-June 2, 1988



Documents and Materials

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MIKHAIL GORBACHEV'S REPLIES TO QUESTIONS PUT BY THE WASHINGTON POST AND NEWSWEEK

On May 18 Mikhail Gorbachev met with a group of journalists from the Washington Post Co. talked to them and answered their questions. Participating in the meeting were Katharine Graham, Chairman of the Board of the Washington Post Co., Richard M. Smith, Editor-in-Chief of Newsweek, Jimmie Hoagland and Meg Greenfield, editors from The Washington Post, and Robert G. Kaiser, Assistant Managing Editor for National News of The Washington Post.

Question: Have the three meetings with President Reagan changed your ideas as to how peaceful competition between capitalist and socialist countries should be regulated in the future? How do you think the forthcoming summit will contribute to stabilizing that competition?

Answer: I am convinced that positive trends are unfolding in the world. There is a turn from confrontation to coexistence. The winds of the cold war are being replaced by the winds of hope. And I see that a significant role in that process is played by the signs of improvement in the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. All over the world there is an acute need for change or, if you will, a need for restructuring international relations. In that situation it is essential to continue positive contacts between East and West.

As for the dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union, it is simply vital because of the great role they play in today's world.

What is important is the very fact of that dialogue, not to mention its content, specifically, such exceptionally important joint statements as those regarding the inadmissibility of wars, nuclear or any other, the necessity of resolving problems by political means and of recognizing the realities of today's world.

It is very important that all this has sounded loud and clear for the whole world to hear, and we have seen how the world has responded to it. All this leads to the following conclusion: yes, we are different and will remain so. We will remain loyal to our ideas and our ways of life. But we have a common responsibility, which is especially true of our two great powers, and our every action must measure up to that responsibility.

As for the potential results of the coming fourth meeting with the President and, in particular, the prospects for a detailed agreement on a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive weapons, the past few months and weeks have seen so much speculation that I would like to make the following point: be patient, the meeting is just a few days away, let the President and I work together. Whatever we arrive at will certainly not be concealed from the public.

There are two more points to be made here, though. The very continuation of the Soviet-American dialogue at the summit level is important and substantive. In any case, I hope that our attention will be focussed, as at the previous meetings, on the main international problems and that we will be able to rise to a new level of dialogue and mutual understanding.

And if an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons comes to be drafted under the present US Administration, I see no reason why President Reagan and I should not sign it. I would certainly welcome that.

Question Many people in the West think that nuclear weapons have been instrumental in maintaining stability in the world over the past few decades. Would it not be more rational for the USSR and the US in those conditions to agree on preserving minimal nuclear deterrents?

Answer I cannot agree with those who think that there is no point in striving for a nuclear-free world.

I have argued more than once with representatives of the West over their case that without nuclear weapons we would never have managed to escape another world war for 40 years. This is just a conjecture. But what about a sober evaluation of the real role played by the so-called balance of fear? It has given us nothing but an unheard-of militarization of foreign policies, economies and even intellectual life. It has caused damage in the sphere of international morality and ethics and has ruined the atmosphere of mutual trust, friendliness and sincere interest in each other that was generated in

Soviet-American relations by the joint fighting against fascism and the common victory over it

I am convinced that strategic military parity can be maintained at a low level and without nuclear weapons. We have clearly formulated our choice: the arms race must be stopped and then reversed.

As for the so-called minimal nuclear deterrents, I will not argue now with the proponents of this idea. So far, you and we have more than 10 000 warheads each in our strategic arsenals. Let us cut them for a start, by fifty percent, then, maybe, by another fifty percent and then do so once again. In the meantime, let us come to terms on the elimination of chemical weapons and start reducing conventional armaments in Europe. That process should be open not only for the US and the USSR but for all other nuclear and non-nuclear states as well. That will be an important incentive for the world to move towards a demilitarization of politics, thinking and international relations in general.

And another point: if we start orienting ourselves to a "minimal nuclear deterrence" now, I assure you that nuclear weapons will start spreading around the world, rendering worthless and undermining even what we can achieve at Soviet-American talks and at talks among the existing nuclear states.

A peaceful future for mankind can be guaranteed not by "nuclear deterrence", but by a balance of reason and goodwill and by a system of universal security.

Question: The NATO leaders have announced that even with a balance in the conventional forces in Europe, nuclear weapons will still need to be preserved on the continent as a means of retaliation. If, in keeping with that position, nuclear disarmament is unacceptable for the West, should we not try to reach a joint agreement on the terms of modernization of the tactical nuclear weapons deployed in Europe?

Answer: The talk about nuclear weapons on the continent as a means of retaliation is the same old concept of "limited" nuclear warfare in Europe. It absolutely contradicts what I conferred with the US President about back in Geneva, namely, that nuclear war cannot be won and simply must not be allowed to happen. Isn't the materialization of the formula for modernizing tactical nuclear weapons in Europe fraught with the danger of a nuclear catastrophe in the centre of the continent?

I know of the NATO statements concerning nuclear weapons. But I also know that people are thinking not only at NATO headquarters, but also in public, scientific and government circles. There are already a number of ideas which have authoritative supporters in both the East and the West of Europe—on ways of reducing conventional armaments, including dual-purpose systems, from the Atlantic to the Urals. We support the ideas concerning the establishment of nuclear-free zones in Northern Europe and in the Balkans. We are also in favour of setting up a 300-kilometre corridor free of all nuclear and any other heavy weapons in Central Europe. I am naming just some of the ideas but certainly not all of them.

I am positive that it is here, in such interim projects, that we should search for a way of removing the threat of nuclear war, rather than by clinging to nuclear weapons which do not lead to genuine security in any version. The ideas that you mention in your question are self-delusion.

As for deterrence, isn't the very awareness that a strike at nuclear power stations and chemical plants even with conventional weapons would be lethal for densely-populated Europe enough of a deterrent?

Question NATO has suggested cutting tens of thousands of non-nuclear weapons that could be used for surprise or large-scale offensive operations. Does this approach fall within the boundaries of your stated willingness to negotiate on the basis of asymmetrical reductions?

Answer On our side, there are no obstacles to that. As for the existing asymmetries in the arsenals of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, I have already expressed my views on that score many times. Asymmetries exist on both sides. We stand for eliminating the asymmetries on the basis of reciprocity. For example, the Warsaw Treaty armies have more tanks. And the NATO armies have more attack planes. The Soviet Union and our allies are ready to eliminate these and other asymmetries without delay but, let me repeat, on the basis of reciprocity. And then it would be possible to balance off armaments on the lowest possible level sufficient for defence alone.

We are not satisfied with the pace of the Vienna consultations of the 23 countries elaborating the objective and format of the future conference. If the work in Vienna proceeds in the same on-again-off-again manner, Europe will have to wait for a long time for those asymmetries to be eliminated.

Quite possibly—I would even say certainly—there are people whom such a situation suits just fine. But I believe that they will be unable to hold their positions for long. The forces realizing that the issue of the dangerous level of armed forces on the European continent should be resolved at all costs are becoming stronger.

Question In the months remaining of the Reagan presidency, what is required to broaden your personal relationship with the President into an institutional relationship and carry both into the future?

Answer The experience of present-day international relations shows the paramount importance of meetings between the leaders of states, especially such as the United States and the Soviet Union. Since both countries are well aware of the need for intensifying the dialogue and improving relations, it is absolutely obvious that it is not only the leaders' personal views that matter. This is the imperative of our time. This is the aspiration of our people. Such is the constant in the Soviet-American dialogue. It remains intact. And if we add to that the experience we have accumulated, all these factors taken together give rise to hopes for continuity and even for intensified contacts and improved mutual understanding. However, let me repeat that everything rests not on the sentiments or personal motives of individual political figures but on the interests of our countries and peoples. No one can allow their relations to slide to a point beyond which the unpredictable may happen. Such is the basis for continuing and developing the Soviet-American dialogue. It will remain the same in the future as well.

In a word, we are interested in developing the dialogue, we will strive to make it more productive, we will try to facilitate the "adaptation" of the next US Administration to contacts with us, and we will do everything within our power to keep the process begun in Geneva in 1985 from stopping. And, naturally enough, we hope for a similar attitude on the American side.

Question Do you feel President Reagan is a different kind of American leader? Which of his qualities and/or ideas would you most hope to see his successor hold as well? Has he been able to persuade you that the military-industrial complex does not determine US policy?

Answer As is known, I made President Reagan's acquaintance in Geneva less than three years ago. We have maintained contacts in various forms ever since. There have

been three vis-a-vis meetings. The fourth is approaching.

I'm not particularly fond of giving personal character references. But since you ask, I would like to say that realism is an important quality in President Reagan as a politician. By this I mean the ability to adapt one's views to the changing situation, while remaining faithful to one's convictions.

Who would have thought in the early 1980s, both in the Soviet Union and the USA, that it would be President Reagan who would sign with us the first nuclear arms reduction agreement in history? However, the sober-minded realization that the world has changed and that the interests of our countries are changing enabled the President, while holding to his well-known convictions, to take a fresh look at the existing realities. And indeed, don't the leaders of such powers as the USSR and the USA, who bear a unique responsibility for the destiny of the modern-day world, really need such qualities as the ability to give up dogmas and discard outdated ideas for the sake of making progress? For the goal in question is most noble—ridding our peoples and all humanity of the nuclear nightmare, building new relations and improving the international situation.

As for the military-industrial complex, let me remind you that it wasn't us but one of the predecessors of the incumbent President, Dwight Eisenhower, also a Republican, who came up with that notion.

It seems unlikely that he made a mistake. But is that complex the only force shaping American policy? Hardly so, although, let me repeat, its influence is substantial. And it becomes especially obvious whenever there are signs of positive change in the disarmament sphere, whenever there are prospects for reaching agreements in that field, and whenever Congress is about to consider military budgets and other allocations for armaments.

But, to quote the ancient Greek philosophers, all is flux, nothing stays still. If the process of disarmament proceeds actively, if corporations receive fewer military contracts and if the US stops brandishing a "big stick" every time something happens tens of thousands of kilometres away from the US—something pictured as a threat to America's national interests—then we will be able to discuss that matter again.

Question The Americans are familiar with the rapid erosion that occurred in the situation in Vietnam once they decided to withdraw from that war. What changes, in your view, will take place in Afghanistan in the next year while the

Soviet Union is pulling out its troops? What will the Soviet Union's contribution to bringing about those changes be?

Answer: Any parallel between Vietnam and Afghanistan is artificial. Not to mention how different the nature of the conflicts is. I would only like to remind you of the fact that prior to the Americans' pulling out of Vietnam, that country was divided for 20 years into two nearly equal parts by a border along the 17th parallel. In both sections, there existed governments personifying regimes opposite in nature and incompatible in aim.

There is nothing of the kind in Afghanistan. On the contrary, the government there has set itself the goal of achieving the Afghan people's national reconciliation and, on this basis, its own reorganization into a coalition government with the participation of all parties to the conflict.

It goes without saying that the future depends in many respects on how honestly and consistently all the signatories to the Geneva agreements will meet the commitments assumed, without trying to get around them in some way or another or deceive their partners.

I can reaffirm once again that the Soviet Union intends to meet its obligations precisely and undeviatingly.

It is the Afghans themselves who are to decide how the settlement will proceed, what changes are to take place in Afghanistan in the future. We adhere firmly to this principle, which means non-interference in internal affairs. The Soviet Union will render assistance to Afghanistan in dealing with the consequences of the war, in strengthening the Afghan economy. In a word, it will act in keeping with the long-standing traditions of good-neighborliness and friendship with this southern neighbor of ours, undoubtedly, respecting its status as an independent, neutral and non-aligned state.

Question: You said that when the Afghan knot is untied, it will have the most profound impact on other regional conflicts too. Is the Soviet Union prepared to cooperate with the United States and other countries in resolving other conflicts, for example, in Central America, the Persian Gulf and Angola?

Answer: Yes, it is. I have already said that, given constructive cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States and major emphasis on the prestige and capabilities of the United Nations, its Security Council and other bodies, political settlement of regional conflicts and prevention of new ones will gradually become an international

practice, a norm I would like to confirm this conviction of mine

The world has ample proof that dragged-out conflicts are the result of politics being exposed to pressure from outdated stereotypes. They are orthodox approaches to national security, with power politics being preferred to sober considerations and political boldness, the old habit of seeking to satisfy one's rights and interests at the expense of others, and a shortage of fairness and humaneness in international relations.

The President and I have discussed this more than once and we will have a chance to take up these matters at the forthcoming meeting too. Of course such a talk can be productive only if there is respect for the right of every people to choose their own road.

Question Recalling her talks with you, Mrs Thatcher drew a comparison between the criticism and resistance a Western leader faces in bringing change and what you have encountered in pushing perestroika and glasnost. She wished you success. Is the comparison accurate? Or is it fundamentally different? To be more specific by glasnost you seem to mean something quite different from what we think of as freedom of speech. Could you elaborate on the differences?

Answer I appreciate the kind words Mrs Thatcher addresses to us now and then. However, I cannot help saying that I disagree with her views on ways to preserve peace, her dedication to nuclear deterrence and her assessments of socialism.

About the similarities and dissimilarities of economic policy in this country and in the West. Of course, it is possible to find a likeness, formal at least, in anything and such a likeness does exist if you do not go into the essence of one reform or another. However, it is the difference of principle that matters. What is taking place in the USSR is an all-embracing process of revolutionary renovation of socialist society on the basis of the historic choice which we do not doubt and which proved, in principle, the only correct one for our people 70 years ago. Otherwise the country with which you are discussing things that affect the future of the world as a whole would not exist. Of course combating stagnation in the course of perestroika and dismantling the mechanism of retardation require that inflexibility and conservatism be overcome. Sometimes we are confronted with hectic impatience. There is also conscious resistance on the part of

those whose narrow selfish interests are incompatible with perestroika, socially, economically or morally

However, this is precisely what we mean by perestroika, in the course of which we want to renovate our society, upgrade it qualitywise. Perestroika is proceeding in width and depth, encompassing all public groups and all our territory. Perestroika is growing and gaining momentum.

As for glasnost, it and freedom of speech are, of course, interconnected. However, these are not identical things. I would put it this way: while freedom of speech is indispensable for glasnost, we see glasnost as a broader phenomenon. For us it is not just the right of every citizen to openly say what he or she thinks about all social and political questions, but also the duty of the ruling Party and all bodies of authority and administration to ensure openness in decision-making, be accountable for their actions, act on criticism, and consider advice and recommendations from the shopfloor, public organizations and individuals.

Glasnost, as we see it, accentuates an environment allowing citizens to effectively participate in discussing all of the country's affairs, in elaborating and making decisions that affect the interests of society and in monitoring the implementation of these decisions.

Question: Could you discuss what ideas from abroad have had influence in the formation of your political and economic thinking and your mode of action? Conversely, what is the effect of glasnost and perestroika in other socialist countries?

Answer: In my book on perestroika published by Harper and Row, I wrote that our new political thinking is a result of our comprehension of the realities of the nuclear age, of deep and self-critical reflections on the past and present of our own country and of the surrounding world.

The new thinking took into account and absorbed the conclusions and demands of the Non-Aligned Movement, of the public and of the scientific community, of the movements of physicians, scientists and ecologists, and of various anti-war organizations. We also take into consideration the experience of other socialist countries just as they take ours into account. The process of mutual enrichment with experience, in which no one tries to impose any models on others, is under way.

Yes, all of us really do understand our dependence on one another better and feel that we live in an interrelated world and that all of us are inseparable parts of the single present-day civilization.

Question Judging by the President's statements, you disagree with him on human rights. At the same time, your dramatic decision to free Andrei Sakharov and to ease the conditions of emigration for some Soviet Jews who desire to live abroad have attracted attention around the world. What further steps do you plan in this direction?

Answer Our perestroika, the main factor of which is creative effort, also includes doing away with all distortions of the past years, with everything that hampers manifestation of the humanitarian essence of socialism.

We know our problems and speak honestly and openly about them. The process of democratization does not bypass the sphere of human rights and liberties. We are enhancing the political and public status of the personality. Many issues have already been resolved within the framework of the democratic process, while others will be resolved as Soviet society changes qualitatively in the course of perestroika. But that is our job. We are resolving these issues not because we want to play up to somebody or to please somebody, but because this meets the interests of our society, because perestroika cannot be carried out without it, and, last but not least, because it is wanted by the Soviet people who have long outgrown the restrictions which they put up with in the past and which were to a certain extent an inevitable part of the unusual revolutionary development which we have gone through.

Once I said, and it seems to me, to an American please, show me a country that has no problems. Each country has problems of its own, human rights included. Of course, we are well informed about the situation with political, social, economic and other rights in the United States. We know well the achievements and problems, but also the flaws of American society. But we do not allow interference in your home affairs, though we deem it right to express our views on the processes taking place in American society, on your Administration's policy. But we do not want to make all this a reason for confrontation. We consider such an approach to be correct, fair, we see it as meeting the interests of Soviet-American relations and their future. I want to emphasize once again that we do not try to impose anything on the United States, but at the same time we rebuff attempts by any side to meddle in our affairs, no matter who tries to do so in your country.

Such is, in principle, our approach. At the same time, there are problems in the human rights sphere which require joint consideration. The mechanism of cooperation in that area has begun to take shape of late. Scientists, specialists and public representatives have been widely drawn into it. Specific issues are analyzed at their meetings in a calm atmosphere and businesslike manner.

We also welcome the accord on setting up a permanent body on human rights with the participation of Deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet and US Congressmen. It is the duty of legislators in both countries to show concern for observance of the citizens' rights.

We are prepared to go on acting in this spirit.

Taking advantage of this opportunity, I would like to say the following. As it seems to me, pragmatism, preparedness to seek new decisions if what has been tested does not work is the Americans' forte. But they also have a trait—please, do not resent my frankness—which sometimes makes it difficult to deal with them. I mean their confidence that everything American is the best, while what others have is at least worse if not altogether bad and unfit for use. I am not talking about anti-communism, which has been implanted in the USA for decades, despite the fact that Albert Einstein called it the greatest lie of the 20th century many years ago.

For the sake of our mutual understanding, please, do not try to teach us to live according to American rules—it is altogether useless. And I repeat that, for our part, we do not intend to suggest our values to the Americans. ●

Let each side live in its own way, respecting each other's choice and voluntarily exchanging the fruits of our labor in all the spheres of human activity.

I am sure that each nation, each people does not lose but, conversely, wins if it looks at itself critically and does not ignore others' experience, if it is open to understanding of and respect for a different culture, a different way of thinking, different customs, lastly, a different political system, of course, if it is not terrorist, fascist or dictatorial.

Question: Does your policy of perestroika require fundamental changes in the way relations among Soviet nationalities are structured? Does this policy offer new ways of promoting their cultural diversity and internationalism?

Answer: The question of changing the socialist principles of relations among the peoples, big and small, in our country is not on the agenda in the USSR. But we will set right the

violations of these principles. It is such violations that caused the recent developments in some of our Republics. The West has displayed, I would say, a morbid interest in them, not infrequently with anti-Soviet innuendo and bad intentions. It made lavish use of speculations aimed at weakening our multinational Union.

Problems certainly do exist, and they are linked with the legacy we inherited from the time of the personality cult and the period of stagnation—in the economy, social policy, cultural life and human relations. Internationalism, which is deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of Soviet people of all nationalities will help us resolve the problems in this sphere, too. And we will resolve them in the spirit of perestroika and in close linkage with the accomplishment of all the main tasks it involves, in the process of radical renewal of society.

* * *

A conversation followed between Mikhail Gorbachev and *The Washington Post* and *Newsweek* publishers.

Mikhail GORBACHEV I'm glad to greet you here in Moscow on the eve of the summit. What is the mood in Washington?

Katharine GRAHAM Well, everybody is getting ready for the summit and thousands of people are going to come here. And everybody is looking forward with great expectation and great hopes to this occasion.

Mikhail GORBACHEV Moscow, too, is looking forward to the summit. And that is good. It's good that the dialogue is continuing. The Soviet-American dialogue can have ups and downs, it may have its evolution, but there's no doubt, that since it's proceeding, it promises specific results in the development of our relations. I stated this in the written answers to your questions, handed over to you. We value highly the very fact of constant Soviet-American dialogue. Contacts with the US in different fields—political, scientific and technical, economic and cultural—are very diverse. And yet, they cannot replace the summit.

To this I can add that Moscow, too, is living in an atmosphere of preparations for a visit of a US President after an interval of 14 years.

Katharine GRAHAM I would like to note that you, together with President Reagan, and with George Shultz and

Eduard Shevardnadze have established an entirely new kind of productive discussion that certainly has been missing for many years

Mikhail GORBACHEV· I think it really is an important result of our joint work over the past few years. Of course I highly rate specific agreements reached during these discussions, especially the INF Treaty. And yet, I believe that the most important political achievement is the regular and systematic dialogue.

Well, it sounds like I'm beginning to ask you questions in order to seize the initiative. But then I've already answered your written questions and so now it is time to just have a conversation.

Katharine GRAHAM I want to begin by thanking you for answering the written questions. They mean a great deal to us and we are grateful for your frankness in them. We would like to cover as many of the areas of mutual interest as is possible in this meeting.

In the process of preparing for this meeting, everywhere we have gone we have been told how many problems you face, how difficult they will be to resolve. Many people are awed by the audacity of your undertaking. I wonder if you yourself sometimes have moments when the task seems overwhelming or impossible, when you hesitate. I want to ask why will your reform programs succeed when those of your predecessors, say like Nikita Khrushchev, have not succeeded?

Mikhail GORBACHEV· Well, you've asked perhaps the principal question, whose answer our people want to know, and I think Americans do too, because, one way or another, it is the fate of our two peoples and our two countries, whether we like it or not, to cooperate and to learn to live together. And that, naturally, means knowing each other better, and, particularly, knowing each other's plans. Those plans are truly grandiose. It is for this reason that we call our perestroika revolutionary.

Paradoxical as it may seem, but now I am more confident in the political line we've chosen for perestroika, for the renewal of our society, than at the beginning of this road, although we now have more difficulties. How can I explain this? Probably we know better now what we want and how to do it, and this gives us greater confidence.

At the Central Committee we'll discuss the document for the coming 19th Party conference. I can say that the con-

ference will give a second wind to all our plans and our work to implement the concept of perestroika

But I think I would sound overconfident to you if I just confined myself to what I've just said. Making decisions at this turning-point in the development of our society is something that carries great responsibility—above all, responsibility to our people. We're not insured against mistakes, but we want to minimize the number we make and we don't want to make major mistakes, because the most expensive mistakes are political mistakes. We want to fend them off. Therefore we are preparing all our main and most principal decisions with the active involvement of the whole society, the intellectual forces of our society, within the framework of the democratic process. This is the best way of avoiding political mistakes. This is why we are so persistent in developing the processes of democratization and openness. We shall not backtrack. It is perhaps in this area that perestroika has made the greatest strides.

I've now approached the answer to the second part of your question. Indeed, earlier, too, our society and Party understood the need for reforms, for renewal. Attempts, I would say major attempts, were made at that time to introduce such reforms, including by, as you said, Nikita Khrushchev and the leadership of his time. I would say that in the period of Leonid Brezhnev the leadership of that time, too, conceived and was trying to implement major plans. But they were not fulfilled and mostly because they did not rely on the decisive force—the involvement of the people in modernizing and restructuring our society. We've learned from the past, which is why we are so persistent in developing the process of democratization.

For us the words that have become popular, "More democracy, more socialism", are not just a slogan or a pretty formulation. This is a well-thought-out guideline through the development of the democratic process, through the involvement of the people in economic, political, social and cultural reforms, we can reveal the potential of socialism and all that is part of this system.

We now have three years of hard work under perestroika, of work at the new stage, so we can say confidently that perestroika has become a cause of the entire people, a national cause.

Probably many generations of our people, and certainly my generation, cannot recall a time of such great activity and

such interest in the affairs of society as we're witnessing now. People are eagerly discussing the activities of Party, state and economic bodies, and all the developments. There is tremendous interest in everything happening in the country. And that means an end to stagnation, an end to apathy. Our life is turbulent. It's no easy job to steer the ship in this turbulent sea, but we have a compass and the crew, and our ship itself is strong.

Jimmie HOAGLAND: I'd like to ask you a couple of more specific questions on perestroika. As you say, it's a turbulent time and there are more difficulties in some areas now than there were before. Price reform is an awfully important area in perestroika, I think. The system of subsidies operating in your country has been part of the old social contract between the citizens and the government, meaning that every Soviet customer gets a three-rouble subsidy on a kilogram of meat, a 30-kopeck subsidy on each liter of milk that's sold. Are you persuaded that this has to be changed, these subsidies that cost the government so much? And, if so, how urgently, and how will you change it?

Mikhail GORBACHEV: We have been discussing this problem and not only in the government but in society too. People in Moscow can confirm that there is a vigorous debate on these questions in our press. The people involved in that debate include industrial workers, rank-and-file people, collective farmers, intellectuals, veterans, and experts—because the problem concerns the whole society.

In the whole complex of measures that are covered by the term "radical economic reform", prices and price formation occupy a significant place. They are of great importance. When I speak about prices, I mean wholesale prices, purchasing prices, and retail prices. What we think we should do is to formulate the next five-year plan on the basis of new prices.

Now, how should we approach that? The standpoint on this score has already taken shape in both government and scientific quarters. We've already presented it to the people in the preliminary discussion on this question. While reforming the prices and changing price formation we will, above all, see to it that no decline occurs in the actual standard of living.

You may ask, then what is the point? Well, the point is that the prices should be consistent with actual economic processes, with real costs and work input. That will create a healthier financial system, and on that basis it will be possible to better organize cost accounting, and to use economic

incentives in every work collective, which will push the economy in the right direction—toward greater scientific and technological progress and higher labor productivity, to search for ways of better meeting society's needs for the means of production, and higher-quality goods and services.

Today we're very carefully thinking over a system of compensation for the losses that people may incur in the process of changing retail prices. When we're ready for this and when the measures are carefully conceived and balanced, we will submit them for nationwide discussion. We've promised this to the people and we'll act in this way. We are not going to do anything without their approval.

Jimmie HOAGLAND We have just seen in the neighboring socialist country of Poland that a price reform can create great civil unrest and serious problems. Do you feel that you can avoid similar stormy events?

Mikhail GORBACHEV We have a different situation here. Our situation is that most of the prices are under very strict government control. So it is very important to find out how we can accomplish a release of economic mechanisms while preserving the necessary centralized control. Probably this cannot be resolved at one go. The shaping of a new price mechanism will be a process that will pass within the context of our ongoing economic reform.

We are being prodded from the inside and from the outside towards steps which would be tantamount to a leap. But we are going to move in a calculated and measured way in continuous consultation with the people through a democratic mechanism.

In any case I think that after hearing this answer *The Washington Post* will stop advising us to take reckless steps to accelerate the process of perestroika. (Laughter.)

Meg GREENFIELD Mr. Gorbachev, could I ask you about a different kind of perestroika? You've written about perestroika in international relations, and particularly in relations among socialist countries.

You have written and spoken very eloquently about the absolute right of nations to choose their own path: capitalism or socialism or whatever variant of it they wish. And we are curious as to how this will apply to the countries of Eastern Europe, the socialist states. For example, in Poland there are elements in the society arguing for a pluralistic system in which the Communist Party might not play the leading role. Would such an outcome be acceptable, be tolerable, to you?

Mikhail GORBACHEV I think you should better put that question to the Polish leadership. That would also be more consistent with what you said in the beginning of your question. But still, I wish to say a few words.

We recognize the right of each people, whatever part of the world it lives in, to have its social option, to choose its own way of developing its society. I think, the Polish people can better see now what should be done for Poland to gain strength and consolidate so that its development give greater benefits to the people.

What we do in our country is our affair. Perestroika was born out of our conditions, and we need it. We will continue that process, expanding it and also making it deeper. But we will not impose our methods for developing and improving society on any other country. That is everyone's own affair. I think the Polish people will also sort the things out and decide themselves what they should do for Poland's development. I am sure that the bulk of the people, the overwhelming majority of Polish society favor continuing the path on which they started after the war [World War II].

Meg GREENFIELD If I could just cite one more statement. In Belgrade, you spoke of there being no circumstances under which an intervention by force in another country would be acceptable. Does this mean—I think people in the West believe it means—a situation as in 1956 in Hungary or in 1968 in Czechoslovakia could no longer occur?

Mikhail GORBACHEV Yes, I did speak on that subject in Yugoslavia. I can only reiterate what I said then, and generally speaking, there is nothing I can add to that. I would only point out the following, perhaps, interference from any side is impermissible. When you speak about interference, I can see what you mean. But recalling those situations, I also have in mind something else, namely, before the events you mentioned, there was interference of a different kind.

Look how much time has passed since the war, but even now in some Western countries parliaments or similar bodies find it possible to adopt resolutions which can be regarded only as interference in the affairs of other countries.

The world has changed greatly in the postwar era, and today even very small nations will not tolerate interference or orders from anybody. Our relations with the socialist countries are relations of equality based on independence. They are relations of cooperation and mutual assistance. We share many things, including resources, and depend on one another.

in the sense that our cooperation allows us, as it did in the past, to expand our economies and to carry out major social changes

I believe such cooperation is a good basis, and it will play a positive role at the new stage when profound changes in the socialist countries are under way

Richard SMITH Mr Gorbachev, looking ahead to the Party conference, we would like your personal reaction to a number of specific proposals. For example, do you support the idea of fixed terms of office for Party leaders, and, if so, would that include the position of General Secretary itself?

Mikhail GORBACHEV Well, you'll hear the answers in the coming days to all such questions. But I would say one word—yes

Richard SMITH Still we hope that you will say more

Mikhail GORBACHEV I would have then anticipated what you will read in. What day is it now? Is it the eighteenth of May? In five or six days. *The Washington Post* always wants to know more and earlier than others. (Animation)

Someone corrects. This is *Newsweek*. (Laughter)

Mikhail GORBACHEV It's all the same. It is your empire. (Laughter)

Meg GREENFIELD Our empire is competitive within itself also. (Animation)

Katharine GRAHAM Mr Gorbachev, from the moment of our arrival here we see immense interest in the forthcoming Party conference. Could you not, perhaps even in more general terms, discuss your hopes for this meeting which is obviously such an important event?

Mikhail GORBACHEV My expectations coincide with the expectations of our whole society. We want to take stock of what has happened over these three years, to sort out the history of perestroika. We want to make a critical analysis of this entire period and to draw lessons from it. Perhaps, some corrections will be needed. But the central question is how to move forward with perestroika and make it irreversible? Therefore, the main questions at the conference will relate to deepening the economic reform and democratizing the Party and society. As for the rest of it, you will soon find out.

Richard SMITH asked whether the appearance of the articles in *Sovetskaya Rossiya* and *Pravda* newspapers reflected serious differences of opinion in the Soviet leadership.

Mikhail GORBACHEV I get the impression that this whole theme of serious differences of opinion in the Soviet

leadership about perestroika and the evaluation of the past is prompted by the West, not by Soviet editors. I don't know the motives of those who regularly tout this theme, which is constantly discussed in foreign radio programs in Russian and other languages. It may be a wish to understand what's going on in this country or it may be a wish to make capital of the discussions being conducted here, encourage mistrust and perhaps a real split in our leadership.

The current leadership of the Soviet Union—including the Politburo and the government—was formed basically after April, 1985, when we had already set out on the course of perestroika. All the members of our leadership are deeply committed to perestroika and are actively involved in designing and implementing its policy.

But now, let's think together and maybe that will make things clearer. When people take on a task as ambitious as this and when they have to formulate not only the strategy but also the tactics of attaining the goals they have set, can they do so without active debate or dialogue in the leadership and in the whole society? This is what is happening now. The whole country is now an enormous debating club. And it is only natural that in the leadership itself there is lively discussion within the framework of perestroika seeking answers to those questions that arise from it. Jesus Christ alone knew answers to all questions and knew how to feed 20,000 Jews with five loaves of bread. We don't possess that skill, we have no ready prescription to solve all our problems quickly. We together with our society are seeking answers to all questions. And this is accompanied by discussions and heated debate, and that is normal. Our problem has been that for many years there was no such debate in the society, in the Party, in the Central Committee, in the government itself or in the Politburo. And that led to many losses, mistakes and omissions. To present these discussions—which are a normal part of the democratic process—as differences within the leadership is a great mistake. Maybe some people want there to be disagreement, even want the Soviet leadership to quarrel and to be split, but that's something quite different. That has no connection to the actual situation within the leadership in our country.

Richard SMITH: It seems to us that some of your own supporters, people who back perestroika very deeply, are worried about the issue of political division. There was a letter in *Sovetskaya Kultura* in which a writer talked about the

possibility of a committee plenum "at which M. S. Gorbachev could be ousted" Then he went on to propose a referendum on your leadership and on your policy a referendum for all the people Have you heard about that letter and what do you think about the idea for a referendum?

Mikhail GORBACHEV: That letter is not the only thing I've heard about (Laughter) I think those facts are entirely positive It means that the society is not indifferent to who is in the country's leadership It means that people are taking a great interest in what is happening I think the fact you have mentioned is an interesting symbol which also demonstrates the achievements of perestroika It shows that people have become involved in the political process They want to participate, to express their opinions and judgements And that is wonderful That may be the most important product of perestroika so far, because in the economic and social sphere a great deal of work remains to be done There have been some positive changes there too but for major changes that all of society can feel we need more time to work

Nothing is happening in the Party or in society that would confirm the anxiety about which you spoke

Here I am not talking about myself I am talking about the question in general Probably you have to know our political process to understand that if the General Secretary did not have the support of the people closest to him and the people he is working with then nothing would have happened in our country after April Everything that has been born here in our society in our Party in the Central Committee, came with the participation of the current leadership

And let me say that perestroika has already pushed forward a number of new and very interesting people in every sphere in politics, in economics, in the cultural sphere The spreading of the processes of democratization, and their deepening, will bring onto the political scene more and more new interesting people new fresh forces The idea of perestroika is that it creates mechanisms that could manage and self-regulate our society within the framework of the democratic process This will allow the inclusion of all people and of course, the best part, the intellectual part, the capable talented part in managing the affairs of society and the state at all levels and in all echelons

Our society won't be as it was It is changing The mechanisms of change are beginning to work A great deal remains to be done, but the train is off and is picking up speed

Robert KAISER: To me, as an old resident of Moscow, some of the most startling changes are the changes in the press and on television. Everything has become so interesting. Many political prisoners have been freed. Many of the old refuseniks have been allowed to emigrate. On May 7, you stated that the goal is to create a socialist, legal state. In your very interesting written answers to us, you called freedom of speech "indispensable". Yet some Soviet citizens still get into trouble for what looks to us like attempts to exercise freedom of speech. I mean, in particular, Airikyan in Armenia and Grigoryants in Moscow. Is this because some of your authorities don't get the new thinking or is this because the things that those people have done are not something you consider expression of freedom of speech?

Mikhail GORBACHEV: Interesting question. I will give a short answer. The most substantial thing that perestroika has demonstrated is that our people, while being firmly in favor of the renewal of society, and of change, has firmly expressed the view that changes should happen only within the boundaries of socialism, and on the basis of socialist values.

Even such measures in the economy as the development of cooperatives, cost-accountability, leasing and individual enterprise have been and are being discussed very seriously and scrupulously in our society also from the following standpoint: is this not a retreat from socialism? Does not this undermine the socialist principles? Today, nine-tenths of our country's population were born and have been raised in the socialist period. And the present leadership is unable to do anything except develop socialism which opened a great road to us in all spheres of life. We know socialism, we know its achievements and its problems. And we will act within the boundaries of our socialist choice.

That is why when they try to force other values on us, including in the ideological sphere, this brings a critical reaction from the people. But that is also the democratic process. Democracy is like that.

Our people know that Grigoryants' "organization" is tied not only organizationally but also financially to the West, that his constant visitors and guests are Western correspondents. Therefore people think of it as some kind of alien phenomenon in our society sponging on the democratic process and on perestroika. This happens—it happens in nature, too: all kinds of parasites attach themselves to a living organism and try to harm it.

Our society is strong enough to cope with this, too. I have said that perestroika is a kind of melting pot which will make our society stronger, which will reveal its democratic, humanitarian potential all in the interest of man. And that which some suggest—that we look for our future in different values and liquidate socialist ownership, etc.—our people reject. This will not be accepted, this is an illusion. And you also should be aware of this.

To conclude, let me express my satisfaction with our meeting and express the hope, a weak hope (animation in the hall) that *The Washington Post* and *Newsweek* will illuminate what is going on in the Soviet Union on the basis of objective analysis, serious, responsible analysis. We are not asking for praise, but we invite you to know the truths that perestroika has produced. A respectable publisher must do everything respectably.

Katharine GRAHAM: Could we impose on your good will for one really important question that hasn't been asked? We wanted to talk a little about the summit both in terms of substance and atmosphere. In your written answers you say that you would welcome another meeting with President Reagan to sign an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons. Is this agreement on a 50-percent reduction so important and so close to completion now that it could be signed while negotiations on space defenses and on other problems such as sea-launched cruise missiles continue?

Mikhail GORBACHEV: We are confirmed and principled advocates of resolute cuts in nuclear arms, and therefore we are for the signing of the treaty on 50-percent reductions in strategic offensive forces. In our assessment, we have covered together a long road in the search for solutions. But I think you would agree with me if I say that if we sign with one hand a treaty reducing strategic offensive arms in one area and at the same time launch an arms race in space or at sea, what would be the point? That would be senseless.

So our persistence is not a whim; it isn't some kind of a tactical subterfuge or maneuver from the Soviet side, but rather a carefully thought-out and responsible position. It is in the interest of the Soviet people, of the American people and the people of the world. If we just replace one kind of arms race with another, particularly in space, things would take a particularly dramatic turn: we would undermine the trust that has begun to be built; we would depreciate all the

experience that we have accumulated at the Geneva negotiations. This new kind of arms race, new sphere for an arms race, new criteria—it would take decades to reach some kind of agreement and come to an agreement.

I think that he who pushes for an arms race in space is committing a crime against the people—his own people, and others. That must be said with all responsibility, and with clarity. Such an approach, such an idea, is a road to destabilization, to unpredictability on matters of security. This must be condemned, the initiators of such an approach must be pilloried.

Sea-launched cruise missiles which they want to leave without limitations and beyond control—this would also be a roundabout maneuver, another avenue for the arms race.

Therefore we are linking all those questions together. I think that this is a fair approach. What is more, we see genuine possibilities to resolve all those questions, to resolve all of them together and arrive at a treaty on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive arms and then to continue farther.

Katharine GRAHAM The reason behind my question is that there has been movement on both sides toward agreement. I thought perhaps that there's been enough movement on the question of SDI and that now the Washington Declaration could perhaps serve to come to the final break problem, it seems to me, on SDI, which is the difference over what happens at the end of the adherence period. Does the Washington Declaration solve the conflict over what happens at the end of the adherence period?

Mikhail GORBACHEV I believe that what was contained in that statement on the understanding of the ABM Treaty the way it was adopted in 1972 and the way both sides understood it before 1983 provides a basis to move forward towards an agreement on 50-percent reductions in strategic offensive arms. But only that way, no other.

I haven't answered the other part of your question. We will work with any American Administration on this important aspect of Soviet-American relations and, in the framework of the Geneva process, we shall seek ways to reach new agreements to reduce nuclear arms. If that happens during Mr. Reagan's presidency, we would welcome that. If that happens after a new President is elected, then so be it. We are ready to work. We don't want to waste any time. We shall continue to work. It's up to the US side.

I'm going to talk to the President about cooperation in Mars expeditions

Mikhail GORBACHEV invites everybody to look at the pictures of the launching of a rocket. He continues

This is a model of our Energiya rocket which last year lifted 100 tons into orbit. After certain modernizations it will be able to carry 200 tons. This is a picture of the launching of that rocket sent to me from the cosmodrome in Baikonur, which I visited last year. I will suggest to the President cooperation in organizing a joint flight to Mars. The results expected to be produced by the SDI and ballistic missile defense programs can very well be achieved through peaceful projects for the exploration of space. For instance, as a result of the project to study Halley's Comet, we have been able to develop dozens of new materials, we have been able to make major advances in such areas as electronics, mathematics and so on.

This is a field for work and cooperation that would be worthy of the American and the Soviet people. I will suggest to the President

Jimmie HOAGLAND As you probably know, we have published an article by Academician Sagdeyev on this issue.

Mikhail GORBACHEV How interesting! Is it about Halley's Comet?

Jimmie HOAGLAND About a joint flight to Mars. It is suggested to send an automatic station. As we see it, the flight could be feasible.

Mikhail GORBACHEV That would be a tremendous breakthrough in science, technology and engineering. In the meantime, you can see what we have been doing. I am very glad to have met you.

Graham and the others thank Mikhail Gorbachev for the conversation and the interview.

Pravda, May 23, 1988

May 29, 1988

THE OFFICIAL WELCOMING CEREMONY IN THE GRAND KREMLIN PALACE

Speech by Mikhail Gorbachev

Esteemed Mr Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America,

Esteemed Mrs Nancy Reagan,

On behalf of the people and government of the Soviet Union, I extend to you my sincere greetings on the occasion of your visit. Welcome.

It is now almost six months since our meeting in Washington, which has gone down in history as a major milestone in Soviet-American and in international relations.

Now, on this return trip, you, Mr President, have traversed the great distance that lies between our two capitals to continue our political dialogue. This is a fact we duly appreciate.

As this is our fourth meeting, we can already make some meaningful assessments. As we see it, long-held dislikes have been weakened, habitual stereotypes stemming from "enemy images" have been shaken loose.

The human features of the other nation are now more clearly visible. This in itself is important. For at the turn of the two millennia history has objectively bound our two countries by a common responsibility for the destinies of mankind.

The peoples of the world, and in the first place the Soviet and the American people, welcome the emerging positive changes in our relationship and hope that your visit and talks here will be productive, providing a fresh impetus in all areas of dialogue and interaction between our two great nations.

You and I are conscious of our two peoples' longing for mutual understanding, cooperation and a safe and stable

world This makes it incumbent upon us to discuss constructively the main aspects of disarmament

the set of issues related to 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms, while preserving the 1972 ABM Treaty, problems of eliminating chemical weapons, reductions in armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, cessation of nuclear testing

The world is also looking to us, Mr President, for responsible judgements on other complex issues of today such as the settlement of regional conflicts,

improving international economic relations, promoting development,

overcoming backwardness poverty and mass diseases, and humanitarian problems

And of course we shall discuss bilateral relations

Our previous meetings have shown that constructive Soviet-US relations are possible The treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is the most impressive symbol of that But even more complex and important tasks lie ahead

And so Mr President, you and I still have a lot of work to do and it is good when there's a lot of work to be done and people need that work We are ready to do our utmost in these coming days in Moscow

Mr President you and Mrs Reagan are here on your first visit to the Soviet Union a country which you have so often mentioned in your public statements Aware of your interest in Russian proverbs, let me add another one to your collection "It is better to see once than to hear a hundred times "

Let me assure you that you can look forward to hospitality, warmth and goodwill You will have many meetings with Soviet people

They have a centuries-old history behind them, they love their land and take pride in their accomplishments

They resent things that are presently standing in their way and they are heatedly discussing how their country can best progress They are full of plans for the future

Being ardent patriots Soviet people are open to friendship and cooperation with all nations They harbor sincere respect for the American people and want good relations with your country

Here, within the walls of the ancient Kremlin, where one feels the touch of history, people cannot help reflecting over the diversity and greatness of human civilization

So may this give greater historical depth to the Soviet-American talks to be held here, infusing them with a sense of mankind's shared destinies
Once again, I bid you welcome

Speech by Ronald Reagan

Mr General Secretary,

Mrs Gorbachev,

Mr General Secretary, thank you for those kind words of welcome

We've travelled a long road together to reach this moment from our first meeting in Geneva in November 1985 when I invited you to visit me in Washington and you invited me to Moscow

It was cold that day in Geneva and even colder in Reykjavik when we met the following year to work on the preparations for our exchange of visits. We faced great obstacles, but by the time of your visit to Washington last December, although we still had to grapple with difficult issues, we had achieved impressive progress in all the areas of our common agenda—human rights, regional issues, arms reduction and our bilateral relations

We signed a treaty that will reduce the level of nuclear arms for the first time in history, by eliminating an entire class of US and Soviet intermediate-range missiles. We agreed on the main points of a treaty that will cut in half our arsenals of strategic offensive nuclear arms. We agreed to conduct a joint experiment that would allow us to develop effective ways to verify limits on nuclear testing. We held full and frank discussions that planted the seeds for future progress

It is almost summer. And some of those seeds are beginning to bear fruit. Thanks to the hard work we've both done since our last meeting, including monthly meetings by our foreign ministers and the first meeting of our defense ministers

We have signed the Geneva accords providing for the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and the first withdrawals have begun. We and our allies have completed technical arrangements necessary to begin implementing the INF Treaty as soon as it enters into force

The next major step in arms control—reductions in US and Soviet strategic offensive arsenals. Our negotiators in

Geneva have produced hundreds of pages of joint draft treaty text, recording our areas of agreement as well as those issues yet to be resolved

Our new nuclear risk reduction centers have begun their transmissions of routine notifications to reduce the risk of conflict. Our scientists are installing the equipment for our joint experiment to verify limits on nuclear testing. Our experts have held broad-ranging discussions on human rights, and important steps have been taken in that area.

We have greatly expanded our bilateral exchanges since we signed our agreement in 1985. I hope you'll agree with me that more of our young people need to participate in these exchanges which can do so much to lay the basis for greater mutual understanding in the next generation.

I could go on. The list of accomplishments goes far beyond what many anticipated. But I think the message is clear: despite clear and fundamental differences, and despite the inevitable frustrations that we have encountered, our work has begun to produce results.

In the past, Mr. General Secretary, you've taken note of my liking for Russian proverbs. And in order not to disappoint anyone on this visit, I thought I would mention a literary saying from your past, another example of your people's succinct wisdom: "Rodilsya, ne toropilsya—It was born, it wasn't rushed." Mr. General Secretary, we did not rush, we have taken our work step by step. And I've come to continue that work. We both know it will not be easy. We both know that there are tremendous hurdles yet to be overcome. But we also know that it can be done, because we share a common goal: strengthening the framework we have already begun to build for a relationship that we can sustain over the long term, a relationship that will bring genuine benefits to our own peoples, and to the world.

Thank you, and God bless you.

* * *

Then Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan went to the Catherine Hall for a talk in private.

REPLIES TO CORRESPONDENTS' QUESTIONS

Before the two leaders bid farewell to the newsmen, the latter were able to ask them a few questions.

Question Mr President, you once called this country an "evil empire" How do you like being in the Soviet Union?

Answer Just fine and everyone has been making me feel very comfortable

Question Mr President is it true that you are posing as a teacher on human rights?

Answer I have no intention of trying to be a teacher

Question Mr Gorbachev what do you think of the proverb 'It was born, it wasn't rushed' used by the US President in his speech at the welcoming ceremony in St George's Hall?

Answer I'm always for progress It shouldn't be too rushed, but constant and steady That is a good proverb, but I like the other one better "Trust but verify"

Question Is it possible that a fifth summit will be held to complete the work on a strategic arms reduction treaty?

Answer It's quite possible

May 30, 1988

SOVIET-AMERICAN TALKS

On May 30 General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan had talks in the Catherine Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace

Attending the talks from the Soviet side were Andrei Gromyko, Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Eduard Shevardnadze, Member of the Politburo and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Alexander Yakovlev, Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Dmitri Yazov, Alternate Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and Minister of Defense of the USSR, Anatoli Dobrynin, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Anatoli Chernyaev, Assistant to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Alexander Bessmertnykh, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, and Yuri Dubinin, Soviet Ambassador to the United States,

Attending the meeting from the American side were George Shultz, Secretary of State, Frank Carlucci, Secretary of Defense, Howard Baker, Chief of Staff to the President, Colin Powell, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Paul Nitze, Ambassador-at-Large and Special Adviser to the President and the Secretary of State for Arms Control Matters, Edward Rowny, Ambassador and Special Adviser to the President and the Secretary of State for Arms Control Matters, Jack Matlock, US Ambassador to the USSR, and Rozanne Ridgway, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs

REPLIES TO QUESTIONS PUT BY CORRESPONDENTS

Before the beginning of the talks Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, replied to several questions put to them by summit correspondents.

Question: Mr. Gorbachev, are you happy about human rights being discussed at the Moscow meeting in such detail?

Answer: I suggested to the President yesterday that this important subject be discussed in greater detail. We have the impression that neither of us has quite the right picture of the realities of this complicated problem—either in the Soviet Union or in the United States. So I proposed arranging a special seminar as part of parliamentary exchanges where it would be possible to exchange information and assessments and study this problem. This would be good and beneficial to both sides.

Question: Mr. President, speaking of the Soviet Union, you often refer to the past, while much is changed in this country now. Haven't you fully recognized this?

Answer: I know much is changed in the Soviet Union. I welcome this. You asked about my upcoming meeting with dissidents. I've been offered this opportunity, and I don't think it'll be a problem. Nonetheless, I want to meet with some dissidents... Then I'd feel at home.

Question: Mr. Gorbachev, will the list of 14 names handed to you by the President yesterday be discussed?

Answer: There are too many lists around...

Question: Mr. Gorbachev, what could you say to the American people on Memorial Day, which is observed today, on how to prevent future disasters and wars?

Answer: I think that everything that has been done by our joint efforts over recent years has been directed at improving the atmosphere in relations between our countries and people. What we are about to do now is in the fundamental interests of the American and the Soviet people, as well as, I hope, people around the world. I wish peace and prosperity to the Americans. We are ready to cooperate.

Question: Mr. President, I didn't quite understand why

you said that while meeting with dissidents, you'd feel at home.

Answer: Every once in a while I'm meeting with some rather disagreeable people at home.

Question: Mr. President, do you mean that dissidents are disagreeable?

Answer: I don't mean that. You know what I mean.

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT REAGAN AT THE DANILOV MONASTERY

It's a very great pleasure to visit this beautiful monastery and to have a chance to meet some of the people who have helped make its return to the Russian Orthodox Church a reality. I am also addressing in spirit the 35 million believers whose personal contributions made this magnificent restoration possible.

It's been said that an icon is a window between heaven and earth through which the believing eye can peer into the beyond. One cannot look at the magnificent icons created, and recreated here under the direction of Father Zinon, without experiencing the deep faith that lives in the hearts of the people of this land.

Like the saints and martyrs depicted in these icons, the faith of your people has been tested and tempered in the crucible of hardship. But in that suffering, it has grown strong, ready now to embrace with new hope the beginnings of a second Christian millennium.

We in our country share this hope for a new age of religious freedom in the Soviet Union. We share the hope that this monastery is not an end in itself, but the symbol of a new policy of religious tolerance that will extend to all peoples of all faiths.

We pray that the return of this monastery signals a willingness to return to believers the thousands of other houses of worship which are now closed, boarded up, or used for secular purposes.

There are many ties of faith that bind your country and mine. We have in America many churches, many creeds, that feel a special kinship with their fellow believers here—

Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Orthodox, and Islamic They are united with believers in this country in many ways, especially in prayer

Our people feel it keenly when religious freedom is denied to anyone anywhere, and hope with you that soon all the many Soviet religious communities that are now prevented from registering or are banned altogether, including the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches, will soon be able to practice their religion freely and openly and instruct their children in and outside the home in the fundamentals of their faith

We don't know if this first thaw will be followed by a resurgent spring of religious liberty—we don't know, but we may hope We may hope that perestroika will be accompanied by a deeper restructuring, a deeper conversion, a *mentanoya*, a change in heart, and that *glasnost*, which means giving voice, will also let loose a new chorus of belief, singing praise to the God that gave us life

There is a beautiful passage that I'd just like to read, if I may It's from one of this country's great writers and believers, Alexander Solzhenitzyn about the faith that is as elemental to this land as the dark and fertile soil

He wrote, "When you travel the by-roads of Central Russia, you begin to understand the secret of the pacifying Russian countryside It is in the churches They lift their belltowers—graceful, shapely, all different—high over mundane timber and thatch From villages that are cut off and invisible to each other, they soar to the same heaven People who are always selfish and often unkind—but the evening chimes used to ring out, floating over the villages, fields and woods, reminding men that they must abandon trivial concerns of this world and give time and thought to eternity "

In our prayers we may keep that image in mind—the thought that the bells may ring again, sounding throughout Moscow and across the countryside, clamoring for joy in their new-found freedom

Well I've talked long enough I'm sure you have many questions and many things on your minds, and I'm anxious to hear what you have to say

DINNER IN THE GRAND KREMLIN PALACE IN HONOR OF PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN AND NANCY REAGAN

Speech by Mikhail Gorbachev

Esteemed Mr President,
Esteemed Mrs Reagan,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Comrades,

I welcome you in the Moscow Kremlin where for the past five centuries the most important events in this country's history have been celebrated

It is here that crucial decisions have been taken concerning the nation's destiny Everything around us calls for a sense of responsibility toward the times and our contemporaries, toward the present and the future

And it is here that we would like to stress the significance of the truth we have awoken to, namely that it is no longer possible to settle international disputes by force of arms We have been led to this conclusion by an understanding of the realities of the present-day world

I like the notion of "realism" and I am pleased to have heard it used more often by you, Mr President, of late

Normal, let alone stable, Soviet-American relations, which have so much influence on the world's political climate, are inconceivable without realism

It is thanks to realism that, in spite of all our disagreements, we have been able to arrive at a very simple, but historic conclusion, namely that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought Other conclusions have followed from this with inexorable logic

In particular, we do not need weapons which cannot be used without inevitably endangering our own lives—and the rest of humanity as well, for that matter I believe this understanding became the pivotal idea of Reykjavik

Our Warsaw Treaty allies also stand firmly by this view And this gives us solid support in all our efforts related to

nuclear disarmament Our allies have given the Soviet leadership a clear-cut mandate to press for a decisive limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons in talks with the United States

I can see from my meetings with leaders of socialist states and authoritative representatives of other countries that we have a common aim in ending military confrontation and the race in both nuclear and conventional weapons

It must be added that the realistic approach is making headway in all directions, in all continents The idea of a political solution to present-day problems is particularly gaining influence The striving of diverse political and social forces toward dialogue, toward exchanges, toward better knowledge of one another, and toward mutual understanding is becoming more extensive

If that is so, if such is the will of the peoples, care should be taken so that the stocks of the ferment of realistic policy increase, rather than diminish

For that, it is necessary to understand one another better, to take into account specific features of a country's way of life, the historical conditions of its formation, the paths chosen by its people

I recall you once saying, Mr President, that the only way to overcome differences is first to understand them This is true

I will only add that striving to eliminate differences should not presuppose the elimination of diversity The diversity of the world is a mighty source of mutual enrichment, both intellectual and material

Ladies and Gentlemen, Comrades,

The word "perestroika" is not out of place even within these ancient walls The renewal of society, humanization of life and elevation of ideals have always been in the interests of the people and of each individual everywhere

When this happens, especially in a great country, it is important to understand the essence of what it is living through We are now observing abroad precisely this wish to understand events in the Soviet Union And we regard this as a good sign Because we really want to be understood correctly This is important for civilized international relations as well

It is practical for all who want to have business with us to know how the Soviet people view themselves

We view ourselves as being more and more convinced of the correctness of the socialist choice, and we don't consider our country's development outside socialism, or based on any other principles

Our program calls for greater democracy and openness, for greater social justice under conditions of prosperity and lofty spirit

Our aim is to grant maximum freedom to people, to the individual, to society

In international terms, we see ourselves as part of an integral civilization where everyone has a social and political choice and the right to a worthy and equal place in the community of nations

In the issues of peace and progress, we proceed from the priority of universal values and regard the preservation of peace as the overriding priority

This is why we advocate building a comprehensive system of international security as a condition for mankind's survival

This explains our desire to revive and enhance the role of the United Nations on the basis of the original aims inscribed in its Charter by the USSR, the US and their respective allies

Its very name—the United Nations—is symbolic nations united in their resolve to prevent any further tragedies of war, to remove war from international relations, and to ensure fair principles to protect the dignified life of any nation, big or small, strong or weak, poor or rich

We are keen to broaden contacts among people in every way, to increase the flow of information and improve its quality, and to promote ties in science, culture, education, sport and any form of human activity

But this must be done without interference in domestic affairs, without lecturing others and foisting one's own views and habits on them, without making family and personal problems a pretext for confrontation among states

In short, the present era is promoting a wide-ranging program in the humanitarian field. Peoples should understand one another better, know the truth about one another, and shed prejudice

As far as we know, most Americans, just like us, are eager to get rid of the demon of nuclear war. But they are increasingly concerned, just like us and like all the people on Earth, about the danger of an ecological catastrophe. This threat, too, can only be warded off by joint effort

The truly global problem of the economic state of the world—in the North and South and in the East and West of this planet—is becoming an increasingly acute priority

The economic foundations of civilization will crumble if the squandering of funds and resources on the purposes of war and destruction is not stopped,

if the problem of debts is not settled, and world finances stabilized,

if the world market fails to become a truly world one by involving all states and peoples on an equitable basis

This is the range with which we approach our international ties, including, naturally, those with the United States

We are driven by an understanding of the realities and imperatives of the nuclear and space age, the age of the sweeping waves of technological revolution, when the human race appears to be all-powerful and mortal at the same time

It is precisely this understanding that has brought forth a new way of thinking, thanks to which a conceptual and practical breakthrough has also become possible in our mutual relations

Mr President, the current meeting, in summing up a fundamentally important period in Soviet-American relations, is called upon to consolidate what has been achieved and create fresh impetus for the future

Never before have nuclear missiles been destroyed. Now we have an unprecedented treaty. And for the first time our countries will have to perform this overture of nuclear disarmament. The performance should be faultless.

The Soviet Union and the United States are acting as guarantors of the Afghan political settlement. This is also a precedent of immense significance. The guarantor nations are approaching a crucial period, and we hope that both will pass through it with honor. The entire world is watching how we both will act in this situation.

Elaborating an agreement on cutting strategic offensive weapons by 50 percent provided the ABM Treaty is observed, remains our principal cause.

In today's conversation, we have paid great attention to discussing the entire range of these problems—justifiably so.

Mr President,

There are expectations that the Moscow meeting will open up new vistas in Soviet-American dialogue, in Soviet-American relations, and benefit our peoples and the entire world.

For that, one should spare neither strength nor goodwill
For cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United
States of America, for their better mutual knowledge and
understanding

I wish health and happiness to Mr President, Mrs Nancy
Reagan and all our esteemed guests

Speech by Ronald Reagan

Mr General Secretary,

I want to thank you again for the hospitality that we've
encountered this evening and at every turn since our arrival in
Moscow We appreciate deeply the personal effort that you,
Mrs Gorbachev and all of your associates have expended on
our behalf

Today has been a busy day I want to thank you for the
opportunity to meet with so many divergent members of
Soviet society As you know, I travelled to Danilov and met
there with the clergy of that ancient monastery and later in
the day had most interesting exchanges with other members
of Soviet society at Spaso House

These meetings only confirmed, Mr General Secretary,
the feelings of admiration and warmth that Americans harbor
toward the peoples of the Soviet Union As wartime allies, we
came to know you in a special way, but in a broader sense the
American people, like the rest of the world, admired the saga
of the peoples of the Soviet Union the clearing of the forests,
the struggle to build a society, the evolution into a modern
state and the struggle against Hitler's armies

There are other ways, too, that we know you

"Happy or sad, my beloved, you are beautiful," says one
of your folk songs, "as beautiful as a Russian song, as
beautiful as a Russian soul"

As expressed in the great music, architecture, art—we
need only look about us this evening—and literature that over
many centuries you've given the world, we have beheld the
beauty and majesty of your peoples' national experience And
without belittling the serious business before us, all of the
fundamental issues that separate our governments, I hope
you'll permit me tonight to say that in the eyes of the
American people your people truly are, as the folk song
suggests, a people of heart and mind, a people, to use our
vernacular, with soul

And that's why we believe there is common ground between our two peoples and why it is our duty to find common ground for our two governments. Over the next three days, General Secretary Gorbachev and I will review what has been accomplished over the past three years and what our two nations might accomplish together in the months to come. We have a great deal to discuss on both accounts.

What we have achieved is a good beginning. We have taken the first step toward deep reductions of our nuclear arsenals. We have taken the first step toward dealing with the reality that much of the tension and mistrust between our two countries arises from very different concepts of the fundamental rights and role of the individual in society. We have taken the first step to build that network of personal relationships and understanding between societies, between people, that are crucial to dispelling dangerous misconceptions and stereotypes.

These are good first steps, Mr. General Secretary, and we can both take pride in them. But, as I said, they are just a start. Nuclear arsenals remain too large. The fighting continues needlessly, tragically in too many regions of the globe. The vision of freedom and cooperation enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act remains unrealized. The American and Soviet peoples are getting to know each other better but not well enough.

Mr. General Secretary, you and I are meeting now for the fourth time in three years, a good deal more often than our predecessors. And this has allowed our relationship to differ from theirs in more than a quantitative state or sense. We have established the kind of working relationship I think we both had in mind when we first met in Geneva. We've been candid about our differences, but sincere in sharing a common objective, and working hard together to draw closer to it. It's easier to disagree and much harder to find areas where we can agree. We and our two governments have both gotten into the habit of looking for those areas. We found more than we expected.

I intend to pursue the search for common ground during the months left to me as President. When I pass the job on to my successor, I intend to tell him it is a search that must be continued. Based on the achievements of the last few years, I will also tell him it is a search that can succeed.

Once again, Mr. General Secretary, I want to extend my thanks for your hospitality. I also hope you'll permit me to mention that, as you have been a gracious host, we've tried to be gracious guests by bringing along some small expressions of our gratitude. There's one gift in particular that I wanted to mention, not only in view of my own former profession, but because it has, I think, something important to say to us about what is under way this week in Moscow.

It is a film—not as well known as some, but an American classic. It is a powerfully acted and directed story of family and romantic love, of devotion to the land, and dedication to higher principle. It is also fun, it has humor. There's a renegade goose, a mischievous young boy, a noisy neighbor, a love-struck teenager in love with a gallant soldier, an adolescent struggling for manhood, a loving, highly-principled wife, and a gentle but strong father. It's about the good and sometimes difficult things that happen between man and wife, and parent and child.

The film also has sweep and majesty and power and pathos. For you see, it takes place against the backdrop of our American epic, the civil war. And because the family is of the Quaker religion, and renounces violence, each of its characters must, in his or her own way, face this war and the moral dilemma it poses. The film shows not just the tragedy of war, but the problems of pacifism, the nobility of patriotism, as well as the love of peace.

I promise not to spoil its outcome for you, but I hope you'll permit me to describe one scene. Just as the invading armies come into Southern Indiana—one of our states—the Quaker farmer is approached by two of his neighbors. One is also a Quaker who earlier in the story, when times were peaceful, denounces violence and vows never to lift his hand in anger. But now that the enemy has burned his barn, he's on his way to battle, and criticizes his fellow Quaker for not joining him in renouncing his religious beliefs. The other visitor, also on his way to battle, is the intruding but friendly neighbor. Yet it is this neighbor, although a non-believer, who says he's proud of the Quaker farmer's decision not to fight. In the face of the tragedy of war, he's grateful, as he says, that somebody's holding out for a better way of settling things.

It seems to me, Mr. General Secretary, that in pursuing these summit meetings, we too have been holding out for a

better way to settling things. And by the way, the film's title is more than a little appropriate—it's called *Friendly Persuasion*.

So, Mr. General Secretary, allow me to raise a glass to the work that has been done, to the work that remains to be done, and let us also toast the art of friendly persuasion, the hope of peace with freedom, the hope of holding out for a better way of settling things. Thank you and God bless you.

May 31, 1988

ANSWERS TO REPORTERS' QUESTIONS

On May 31, Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan answered newsmen's questions before they opened another talk, according to the tradition started at this summit

Question Mr President, has any progress been made on arms control provided the approach to SDI remains the way it was last December?

Answer We have discussed SDI

Question Are you satisfied with the discussion?

Answer Yes

Question And you, Mr Gorbachev?

Answer We had a thorough discussion yesterday on strategic offensive arms and the whole range of armaments, chemical and especially conventional ones

We went to this meeting after having already made some progress, and I think we'll make more after this discussion. I'm positive that, should Mr President make efficient use of the remaining time, we'll be able to prepare the treaty in question before it's over

Question Do you think so too, Mr President?

Answer Yes, and I'm very glad to hear it

Question So you think you'll have enough time to prepare a START treaty?

GORBACHEV If you ask me, I think it's possible

Question And what's your opinion, Mr President?

REAGAN We'll manage

GORBACHEV You know, there have been times when the President and I thought we were in a blind alley. I remember one such moment in Geneva when the President suggested "So let's just bang our fists on the table." And I said "Let's." By the next morning, we had worked every-

thing out and concluded the Geneva meeting successfully. So maybe now it's time to bang our fists on the table again?

Question: What do you think, Mr. President?

Answer: I'll go along if it helps.

GORBACHEV: That's it. In my opinion, we've said more than you expected.

Question: Do you think so too, Mr. President?

Answer: Probably.

The two leaders then went to Mikhail Gorbachev's Kremlin study for a private talk.

THE SIGNING OF THE DOCUMENTS

On May 31, Soviet-American documents were signed in the Red Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace. Present at the ceremony on the Soviet side were: General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev; Andrei Gromyko, President of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and Politburo Member; Eduard Shevardnadze, Foreign Minister and Member of the Politburo; Alexander Yakovlev, Secretary of the Party Central Committee and Member of the Politburo; Dmitri Yazov, Defense Minister and Alternate Member of the Politburo; Anatoli Dobrynin, Secretary of the Party Central Committee; Anatoli Chernyayev, Assistant to the General Secretary; Alexander Bessmertnykh, Deputy Foreign Minister; Yuri Dubinin, USSR Ambassador to the US; other officials.

Present on the American side were: President of the USA Ronald Reagan; George Shultz, Secretary of State; Frank Carlucci, Secretary of Defense; Howard Baker, Chief of Staff to the President; Colin Powell, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; Paul Nitze, Ambassador-at-Large and Special Adviser to the President and the Secretary of State for Arms Control Matters; Edward Rowny, Ambassador and Special Adviser to the President and the Secretary of State for Arms Control Matters; Jack Matlock, US Ambassador to the Soviet Union; other officials.

Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz signed an agreement on the holding of a joint verification experiment and an agreement on the notification of intercontinental ballistic missile and submarine-based ballistic missile launches.

Minister of Culture Vasili Zakharov and USIA Director

Charles Wick signed a program of cooperation and exchanges for 1989-91.

* * *

Later in the day, Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz met at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs to sign an intergovernmental agreement on the establishment of the Chaika and Loran C joint radio navigation system and an intergovernmental agreement on search and rescue at sea.

They exchanged letters on the signing of the search and rescue agreement, as well as notes of the USSR Foreign Ministry and the US Embassy in Moscow on broadening cooperation in spheres provided for in the intergovernmental Agreement Concerning Cooperation in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space for Peaceful Purposes (April 15, 1987) and on the extension of the Agreement Between the USSR and the USA on Scientific and Technical Cooperation in the Field of Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy (June 21, 1973).

Boris Tolstykh, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology, and George Shultz signed an intergovernmental agreement on cooperation in transportation research and technology.

Nikolai Kotlyar, Minister of Fisheries, and George Shultz signed an intergovernmental agreement on mutual relations in fishing.

The ceremony was attended by heads of Soviet ministries and departments, as well as by American officials accompanying the President on this visit.

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV AND RONALD REAGAN TOUR THE KREMLIN AND RED SQUARE

Right after the morning round of talks on May 31, at the request of President Reagan, Mikhail Gorbachev took a walk with him around the Kremlin and Red Square.

At 11:10 a.m. Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan walked out of the General Secretary's office into the

Ivanovskaya Square of the Kremlin Mikhail Gorbachev told the President about the Kremlin's cathedrals, the Ivan the Great's Belfry and the Tsar Bell

As the clock on the Spasskaya tower was ringing out a quarter past eleven, they walked out onto Red Square Mikhail Gorbachev told the President about the architects who had built St Basil's Cathedral, about the history of Red Square and about the events associated with it, including the military parade of November 1941

A group of sightseers, including Muscovites and people from other cities, greeted Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan

Mikhail GORBACHEV Where are you from, comrades?

Voices We are Muscovites From Leningrad From the Moscow region from Zagorsk, Krasnogorsk

Ronald REAGAN How do you do?

Voices 'Thank you, we are fine,' replied the school teacher T Makarova We are very glad you have decided to visit the Soviet Union

Ronald REAGAN Thank you, too, for your greetings and hospitality I am very glad to have come here

Mikhail GORBACHEV Well, comrades, do you welcome the progress in our relations?

T MAKAROVA Yes, but we would like to see more

Mikhail GORBACHEV Well then, put some pressure on Mr President here as you keep putting it on me, what with me being always around and within reach Not that the President does not have his own people to put pressure on him People in both countries are aware of the need to normalize our relations The President and I, we simply have no choice but to consider ways of improving our relations We must make sure that our relations never deteriorate again Let the President confirm that he shares this view

Ronald REAGAN Yes, we share this view and want to develop friendship between our peoples

Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan went up to the Lenin Mausoleum

Ronald REAGAN I see that there are many kids in school uniform here

Mikhail GORBACHEV: There are always a lot of people near the Mausoleum I used to work in the North Caucasus, and when I came to Moscow I would always come here, too

Ronald Reagan was shown the towers and walls of the Kremlin, the Soviet government building behind them, and

other historical buildings. He asked his guide questions.

"This unique ensemble," Mikhail Gorbachev said, "is being kept in its original form. We do not rebuild anything here. This is the only sphere in our country where perestroika is not needed."

The two leaders greeted another group of sightseers, many of them women. They greeted Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Russian and English.

Ronald REAGAN I have just told the General Secretary about my admiration for Russian women. I find them courageous and think that they impart great firmness and stability to society. I also want to say that we are agreed with the General Secretary that there must be friendship between our peoples.

Mikhail GORBACHEV I would think that what has been happening between our two countries in recent time corresponds to the general mood of our peoples.

Voice Yes, we think so, too.

The group's guide (a woman) We want our children to live in peace.

Ronald REAGAN We have just spoken today about the need of organizing student exchanges, so that our schoolchildren should annually travel to you and yours to our country.

A TOMKOVICH, a doctor A wonderful idea. We wholeheartedly welcome it.

Mikhail GORBACHEV That way our kids will get to know each other better, which is very important.

Mikhail Gorbachev picked up a boy about 3 or 4 years old and asked him his name.

Boy Alyosha Filatov.

Mikhail GORBACHEV Do you recognize Mr. President? Say hello to him.

There are cheers and laughter as the President and the boy shake hands.

Mikhail GORBACHEV Grown-ups need peace too, but it is especially important for kids like Alyosha, who are just beginning their lives. So we have agreed with the President that the contacts established between our two countries and peoples in the last few years should be conducted not only at the political level and between specialists but also between students, between youth and cultural organizations. We should know one another better.

When I meet with the President, he asks questions and makes criticisms. I do the same with regard to America. I've

told the President that many problems arise because we don't know enough about each other's countries. We have agreed to look into problems and exchange opinions. For instance, I've told the President—and he can confirm this—that I do not always agree with everything he says about our country. We know our country, all its achievements and all its problems. If we hadn't had any problems, we wouldn't have started perestroika. Yet, we are proud of our country, it is our country. Americans are proud of their country. We think this is as it should be, for people like their own country and defend its interests. But this shouldn't stop us from living in peace, working together, and at the same time remaining different.

A. TOMKOVICH: Truth is born in debate. This is another saying for the President.

Mikhail GORBACHEV: Mr. President, here is a new item for your collection of proverbs. The saying does, however, have a continuation: if the debate boils on and on, the truth evaporates. So we need dialogue, an open, honest and straightforward dialogue. We have begun to criticize ourselves so harshly that the President's criticism of us has become feeble. We know our achievements and problems better than anyone else. I told the President that America and her President were lacking in self-criticism. Mr. President, I am not inventing things, am I?

Ronald REAGAN: As long as we haven't gone too far, let's stand like this.

The President put his arm on Mikhail Gorbachev's shoulder and said that he was very pleased with that meeting with Soviet people.

Voices: So are we. We wish you fruitful work.

One voice: Do you like Moscow?

Ronald REAGAN: Everything's wonderful. I've never been in Red Square before. Now I see how wonderful it is. Thanks for the welcome and hospitality.

Voices: Come back again.

Ronald REAGAN: I will, thank you. I think if all young people make friends, there will never be a war.

Mikhail GORBACHEV: I often hear people say that when I travel round the country. I wish politicians think so too.

A. TOMKOVICH: We are concerned about the problem of nuclear arms reduction. We are grateful to both of you for working on this. Mr. President, we hope the idea of eliminating nuclear weapons by the year 2000 appeals to you too.

Ronald REAGAN Yes, we want this And if we politicians get out of control and start arguing again, you stamp your foot and call us to order (*Animation and laughter*)

Voices Good luck, Mr President

President Reagan went up to another group of tourists. He said that Soviet people and Americans are very much alike—they are open and hospitable

O BROVKIN, a student from the town of Lyubertsy We are glad to see you here, Mr President We are looking forward to new arms control agreements

Mikhail GORBACHEV We are doing our utmost to promote mutual understanding between our countries

Ronald REAGAN We have decided to talk to each other, not about each other And it works out well

Students We want such visits to be as regular as space flights

Mikhail GORBACHEV Our two countries are the world's strongest in terms of space exploration So I have suggested to the President Let's join forces in carrying out such a project as a space mission to Mars That would be a real pooling of resources That would help advance science, engineering and technology The idea seems to appeal to the President

Voice And what is your reaction, Mr President?

Ronald REAGAN I am not a scientist Our scientists are considering this idea As you know, our space program was hampered by the Challenger tragedy I cannot tell you exactly when we will be able to carry out this idea

Mikhail GORBACHEV But it is necessary to begin As you see, the President is cautious But his position is such he must weigh everything out before giving a definite answer

'But you Roma, get ready for a flight to Mars,' Mikhail Gorbachev advised a boy about six who had just introduced himself to the US President and was now attentively listening to what was being said about the prospects for peaceful space research

The General Secretary and the President returned to the Kremlin through the gate of the Spasskaya Tower They went up to the corner of the building of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium from which a view of Ivanovskaya Square opens up Sun rays were reflecting from the cupolas of the Ivan the Great Bell Tower and of the Cathedral of the Assumption

The President said it was a really wonderful, magnificent sight

Mikhail GORBACHEV The whole Kremlin complex is such For some reason, it makes me think of Pushkin

Ronald REAGAN It was pleasant to get acquainted with Soviet people You also got acquainted with our people during your Washington visit

Mikhail GORBACHEV That's almost impossible to do in a second There was just one short minute when I stopped on a Washington street You kept me so busy that I didn't get a chance to see America

Ronald REAGAN I hope our people treated you as nicely as your people treated me

Mikhail GORBACHEV Yes, they did

A large group of journalists was waiting for the Soviet and American leaders in Cathedral Square near the Palace of Congresses One of them asked the General Secretary how the talks with the President went that day

Mikhail GORBACHEV They were interesting talks I passed on to the President many telegrams which had come from various parts of our country As a matter of fact, I gave him only a part of them and will send the rest later The telegrams are interesting and very meaningful Some of them told the President that new-born children had been named Ronald, Regina, Nancy The parents of these babies want the President to be their godfather

Question. What will be the outcome of the Moscow meeting?

Mikhail Gorbachev. It would be better to ask this question at a press conference because we are still working And we are accomplishing a lot Just now at my office we considered ways to improve cooperation in the economic sphere

We have proved to the whole world—and not only to ourselves—that we can live without each other Now we have to prove that we can cooperate too

Question Did the President like the stroll?

Ronald REAGAN I long wanted to see Red Square and to get acquainted with Soviet people

Question What progress has been made at these talks?

Ronald REAGAN They have made headway

Question Do you, Mr President, still believe that the USSR is an 'evil empire'?

Ronald REAGAN No, I do not

Journalist. Mr President, you are wearing a wonderful suit

Mikhail GORBACHEV: Are you happy with our answers?

Question: Please, a few words about the nuclear arms reduction issue

Mikhail GORBACHEV Reduction of strategic and offensive armaments in interrelation with ABM and sea-based cruise missiles and the problems of chemical arms and conventional weapons in Europe—these issues are central to our talks. Not only the President and I but also working groups and experts are dealing with them. There will be progress.

Question: Will there be a fifth summit?

Mikhail GORBACHEV It would be better to address this question to the President.

Ronald REAGAN We shall see. I am positive about one thing only: we both agree that it's better to talk to each other than about one another. We can thus avoid many difficulties.

Question: Did anything unexpected come up?

Ronald REAGAN I've heard lots about Red Square, but real impressions exceeded all expectations.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan then went to the Grand Kremlin Palace for the signing of joint documents. As they passed by the Tsar Cannon, Mikhail Gorbachev said in jest:

"See the secret weapon we have in store? Though, to be honest, it's never been used."

Amazed at the huge medieval artillery piece, the President asked: "Has it ever been lifted?"

Answer: No, it's a monument.

On their way to the Grand Kremlin Palace, the two leaders again encountered tourist groups who cheered and applauded them.

Mikhail Gorbachev stopped for a moment at the main entrance to the Grand Kremlin Palace to call the President's attention to the Kremlin orchard in bloom.

"See this lush greenery? All the trees are in blossom. You have chosen a good time of the year. Did you bring the nice weather with you?"

Ronald REAGAN It must be due to our good relations.

As the two leaders climbed the central palace staircase, Ronald Reagan said that a walk about the Kremlin and Red Square was a good warm-up before the talks.

Mikhail GORBACHEV. Oh yes, it was, both in form and in content

The General Secretary and the President passed by a picture of Lenin

Mikhail GORBACHEV. This is Lenin I'd like to talk to him He was a man of great intellect, a great pragmatist and a realistically-minded political leader When the land issue was being debated, he said 'We shall do what the peasants deem necessary' And the question was settled accordingly Later, after Lenin's death, many things went wrong Now we are trying to put matters right We are opening the way for the farmers Perestroika is most active in the agrarian sector

The Revolution took place in an agricultural country, so the peasant issue predominated Lenin thoroughly studied America's agrarian experience

After that, Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan entered the Red Hall

After the documents were signed, the two leaders faced reporters again One journalist asked them about the results of the morning talk

Mikhail GORBACHEV. This morning, on my initiative, we had a serious talk on economic cooperation I made a simple point it has been proved that we can live without one another, including in the economic sphere But is that normal? We ought to cooperate, as cooperation promotes the interests of our nations and the whole world

When countries and nations cooperate and develop their trade, economic, cultural and other contacts, they come to know each other better Such knowledge is the basis for political relations And it discourages suspicion, negative stereotypes and prejudice This is vital More than that well-developed trade and economic links make mutual dependence closer, and policies grow more predictable with interdependence

Our morning talk was rich in content I made some criticisms of the stances of the President and Congress, stances which have put up a lot of barriers to healthy economic cooperation The President thinks we ought to work for better relations in that sphere, too

PRESIDENT REAGAN SPEAKS TO THE SOVIET CULTURAL AND ARTISTIC COMMUNITY AT THE CENTRAL HOUSE OF WRITERS

As Henry VIII said to each of his six wives, I won't keep you long (*Laughter*)

But thank you Vladimir Vasilievich. It's with some humility that I come here today. You here, writers, artists, dramatists, musicians of this vast country are heirs to the seminal figures in many of the arts as they have developed in the 20th century Europe and America.

I'm thinking of such giants as Kandinsky, Stravinsky, Stanislavski, Dostoyevsky to name a few—men whose vision transformed all of ours.

I've been very impressed with what I've heard just now. For my contribution to this dialogue I thought I would deal here briefly with the question whose answer might open up some new insights for all of us. You see, I've been told that many of you were puzzled that a former actor could become the leader of a great nation, particularly the United States. What does acting have to do with politics and statecraft? Whatever possessed the American people to entrust this high office to me?

You might feel reassured to know you aren't the first to ask that question. Back in Washington, just about every member of the political opposition has been asking it for the last eight years. And they're not the first. It's been happening ever since. Almost a quarter of a century ago, I announced that I was going to run for what turned out to be the first public office I ever held—Governor of California. Yes, I have served as President of my union, the Screen Actors Guild. Yes, in that role I did lead a successful strike by the union against the studios, and yes, I did campaign actively for a number of candidates for office, including candidates for president. But I was still known primarily as an actor.

In the movie business, actors often get what we call typecast—that is, the studios come to think of you as playing certain kinds of roles, so those are the kinds of roles they give you. And no matter how hard you try, you just can't get them to think of you in any other way. Well, politics is a little like that, too. So I've had a lot of time and reason to think about

my role not just as a citizen turned politician, but as an actor turned politician

In looking back, I believe that acting did help prepare me for the work I do now. There are two things—two indispensable lessons that I've taken from my craft into public life. And I hope you won't think it excessively opportune if I use the words of a Soviet filmmaker to explain one of them. He was, after all, one of the world's greatest filmmakers. And so, like so many of your artists—indeed, like so many of you, belongs in a broader sense to all of humanity.

It was during the production of "Ivan The Terrible" when Eisenstein noted that in making a film or in thinking through any detail of it, which to my mind would include the acting of a part, in his words, 'The most important thing is to have the vision. The next is to grasp and hold it. You must see and feel what you are thinking. You must see and grasp it. You must hold and fix it in your memory and senses. And you must do it at once.'

To grasp and hold a vision, to fix it in your senses—that is the very essence, I believe, of successful leadership not only on the movie set, where I learned about it, but everywhere. And by the way, in my many dealings with him since he became General Secretary, I've found that Mr. Gorbachev has the ability to grasp and hold a vision, and I respect him for that.

The second lesson I carried from acting into public life was more subtle. And let me again refer to a Soviet artist, a poet—again, one of the world's greatest. At the beginning of 'Requiem,' Anna Akhmatova writes of standing in a line outside a prison when someone in the crowd recognizes her as a well-known poet. She continues, "Then a woman standing behind me whose lips were blue with cold and who, naturally enough, had never even heard of my name, emerged from that state of torpor, common to us all, and putting her lips close to my ear—there everyone spoke in whispers—asked me, 'And could you describe this?' And I answered her, 'I can.' Then something vaguely like a smile flashed across what once had been her face."

That exchange—"can you describe this?," "I can"—is at the heart of acting as it is of poetry and of so many of the arts. You get inside a character, a place, and a moment. You come to know the character in that instant, not as an abstraction, one of the people, one of the masses, but as a particular person, yearning, hoping, fearing, loving—a face, even what had once been a face, apart from all others, and

you convey that knowledge, you describe it, you describe the face

Pretty soon, at least for me, it becomes harder and harder to force any member of humanity into a straitjacket, into some rigid form in which you all expect to fit. In acting, even as you develop an appreciation for what we call the dramatic, you become in a more intimate way less taken with superficial pomp and circumstance, more attentive to the core of the soul—that part of each of us that God holds in the hollow of his hand and into which he breathes the breath of life.

And you come to appreciate what another of your poets, Nikolai Gumilev, meant when he wrote that “The eternal entrance to God’s paradise is not closed with seven diamond seals. It is a doorway in a wall abandoned long ago. Stones, moss, and nothing more.”

As I see it, political leadership in a democracy requires seeing past the abstractions and embracing the vast diversity of humanity and doing it with humility. Listening as best you can—not just to those with high positions, but to the cacophonous voices of ordinary people and trusting those millions of people—keeping out of their way, not trying to act the all-wise and all-powerful, not letting government act that way. And the word we have for this is freedom.

In the last few years, freedom for the arts has been expanded in the Soviet Union. Some poems, books, music and works in other fields that were once banned have been made available to the public, and some of those artists who produced them have been recognized. Two weeks ago, because of the work of the Writers Union, the first step was taken to make the Pasternak home at Peredelkino into a museum. In the meantime, some artists in exile—the stage director Yuri Lubimov, for example, have been permitted to return and to work, and artists who are here have been allowed a greater range.

We in the United States applaud the new thaw in the arts. We hope to see it go further. We hope to see Mikhail Baryshnikov and Slava Rostropovich, artists Mrs. Reagan and I have seen perform in Washington, perform again in Moscow. We hope to see the works of Alexander Solzhenitzyn published in the land he loves. And we hope to see a permanent end to restrictions on the creativity of all artists and writers.

We want this not just for your sake, but for our own. We believe that the greater the freedoms in other countries the

more secure both our own freedoms and peace And we believe that when the arts in any country are free to blossom, the lives of all people are richer

William Faulkner said of poets, although he could have been speaking of any of the arts, it is the poet's privilege to help man endure by lifting his heart—by reminding him of the courage and honor and hope and pride and compassion and pity and sacrifice, which have been the glory of our past The poet's voice need not merely be the record of man It can be one of the props, the pillars to help him endure and prevail

Thank you for having me here today, and for sharing your thoughts with me, and God bless you all

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT REAGAN TO THE STUDENTS AND FACULTY OF MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY

Thank you, Rector Logunov, and I want to thank all of you very much for a very warm welcome It's a great pleasure to be here at Moscow State University, and I want to thank you all for turning out I know you must be very busy this week, studying and taking your final examinations So let me just say Zhelayu vam uspekha (Applause) Nancy couldn't make it today because she's visiting Leningrad, which she tells me is a very beautiful city—but she, too, says hello and wishes you all good luck

Let me say it's also a great pleasure to once again have this opportunity to speak directly to the people of the Soviet Union

Before I left Washington, I received many heartfelt letters and telegrams asking me to carry here a simple message—perhaps, but also some of the most important business of this summit—it is a message of peace and goodwill and hope for a growing friendship and closeness between our two peoples

As you know, I've come to Moscow to meet with one of your most distinguished graduates In this, our fourth summit, General Secretary Gorbachev and I have spent many hours together and I feel that we're getting to know each other well

Our discussions, of course, have been focused primarily on many of the important issues of the day—issues I want to touch on with you in a few moments But first I want to take

a little time to talk to you much as I would to any group of university students in the United States. I want to talk not just of the realities of today, but of the possibilities of tomorrow.

Standing here before a mural of your revolution, I want to talk about a very different revolution that is taking place right now, quietly sweeping the globe, without bloodshed or conflict. Its effects are peaceful, but they will fundamentally alter our world, shatter old assumptions, and reshape our lives.

It's easy to underestimate because it's not accompanied by banners or fanfare. It's been called the technological or information revolution, and as its emblem, one might take the tiny silicon chip—no bigger than a fingerprint. One of these chips has more computing power than a roomful of old-style computers.

As part of an exchange program, we now have an exhibition touring your country that shows how information technology is transforming our lives—replacing manual labor with robots, forecasting weather for farmers, or mapping the genetic code of DNA for medical researchers. These microcomputers today and the design of everything from houses to cars to spacecraft—they even design better and faster computers. They can translate English into Russian or enable the blind to read—or help Michael Jackson produce on one synthesizer the sounds of a whole orchestra. Linked by a network of satellites and fiber-optic cables, one individual with a desktop computer and a telephone commands resources unavailable to the largest governments just a few years ago.

Like a chrysalis, we're emerging from the economy of the Industrial Revolution—an economy confined to and limited by the Earth's physical resources—into, as one economist titled his book, *The Economy in Mind*, in which there are no bounds on human imagination and the freedom to create is the most precious natural resource.

Think of that little computer chip. Its value isn't in the sand from which it is made, but in the microscopic architecture designed into it by ingenious human minds. Or take the example of the satellite relaying this broadcast around the world, which replaces thousands of tons of copper mined from the Earth and molded into wire.

In the new economy, human invention increasingly makes physical resources obsolete. We're breaking through the material conditions of existence to a world where man creates his own destiny. Even as we explore the most advanced reaches

of science, we're returning to the age-old wisdom of our culture—a wisdom contained in the book of the Genesis in the Bible. In the beginning was the spirit and it was from this spirit that the material abundance of creation issued forth.

But progress is not foreordained. The key is freedom—freedom of thought, freedom of information, freedom of communication. The renowned scientist, scholar, and founding father of this University, Mikhail Lomonosov, knew that. 'It is common knowledge,' he said, "that the achievements of science are considerable and rapid, particularly once the yoke of slavery is cast off and replaced by the freedom of philosophy."

You know, one of the first contacts between your country and mine took place between Russian and American explorers. The Americans were members of Cook's last voyage on an expedition searching for an Arctic passage, on the island of Unalaska, they came upon the Russians, who took them in and together, with the native inhabitants, held a prayer service on the ice.

The explorers of the modern era are the entrepreneurs, men with vision, with the courage to take risks and faith enough to brave the unknown. These entrepreneurs and their small enterprises are responsible for almost all the economic growth in the United States. They are the prime movers of the technological revolution. In fact, one of the largest personal computer firms in the United States was started by two college students, no older than you, in the garage behind their home.

Some people, even in my own country, look at the riot of experiment that is the free market and see only waste. What of all the entrepreneurs that fail? Well, many do, particularly the successful ones. Often several times. And if you ask them the secret of their success, they'll tell you, it's all that they learned in their struggles along the way—yes, it's what they learned from failing. Like an athlete in competition, or a scholar in pursuit of the truth, experience is the greatest teacher.

And that's why it's so hard for government planners, no matter how sophisticated, to ever substitute for millions of individuals working night and day to make their dreams come true. The fact is, bureaucracies are a problem around the world. There's an old story about a town—it could be anywhere—with a bureaucrat who is known to be a good for nothing, but he somehow had always hung on to power. So

one day, in a town meeting, an old woman got up and said to him, "There is a folk legend here where I come from that when a baby is born, an angel comes down from heaven and kisses it on one part of its body. If the angel kisses him on his hand, he becomes a handyman. If he kisses him on his forehead, he becomes bright and clever. And I've been trying to figure out where the angel kissed you so that you should sit there for so long and do nothing." (Laughter and applause.)

We are seeing the power of economic freedom spreading around the world—places such as the Republic of Korea, Singapore, Taiwan have vaulted into the technological era, barely pausing in the industrial age along the way. Low-tax agricultural policies in the sub-continent mean that in some years India is now a net exporter of food. Perhaps most exciting are the winds of change that are blowing over the People's Republic of China, there one-quarter of the world's population is now getting its first taste of economic freedom.

At the same time, the growth of democracy has become one of the most powerful political movements of our age. In Latin America in the 1970's, only a third of the population lived under democratic government. Today over 90 percent does. In the Philippines, in the Republic of Korea, free, contested, democratic elections are the order of the day. Throughout the world, free markets are the model for growth. Democracy is the standard by which governments are measured.

We Americans make no secret of our belief in freedom. In fact, it's something of a national pastime. Every four years the American people choose a new president, and 1988 is one of those years. At one point there were 13 major candidates running in the two major parties, not to mention all the others, including the Socialist and Libertarian candidates—all trying to get my job.

About 1,000 local television stations, 8,500 radio stations, and 1,700 daily newspapers, each one an independent, private enterprise, fiercely independent of the government, report on the candidates, grill them in interviews, and bring them together for debates. In the end, the people vote—they decide who will be the next president.

But freedom doesn't begin or end with elections. Go to any American town, to take just an example, and you'll see dozens of churches, representing many different beliefs—in many places synagogues and mosques—and you'll see families of every conceivable nationality, worshipping together.

Go into any schoolroom, and there you will see children being taught the Declaration of Independence, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights—among them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—that no government can justly deny—the guarantees in their Constitution for freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of religion

Go into any courtroom and there will preside an independent judge, beholden to no government power. There every defendant has the right to a trial by a jury of his peers, usually 12 men and women—common citizens, they are the ones, the only ones, who weigh the evidence and decide on guilt or innocence. In that court, the accused is innocent until proven guilty, and the word of a policeman, or any official, has no greater legal standing than the word of the accused.

Go to any university campus, and there you'll find an open, sometimes heated discussion of the problems in American society and what can be done to correct them. Turn on the television, and you'll see the legislature conducting the business of government right there before the camera, debating and voting on the legislation that will become the law of the land. March in any demonstration, and there are many of them—the people's right of assembly is guaranteed in the Constitution and protected by the police.

Go into any union hall, where the members know their right to strike is protected by law. As a matter of fact, one of the many jobs I had before this one was being president of a union, the Screen Actors Guild. I led my union out on strike—and I'm proud to say, we won.

But freedom is more even than this. Freedom is the right to question, and change the established way of doing things. It is the continuing revolution of the marketplace. It is the understanding that allows us to recognize shortcomings and seek solutions. It is the right to put forth an idea, scoffed at by the experts, and watch it catch fire among the people. It is the right to stick to dream, to follow your dream, or stick to your conscience, even if you're the only one in a sea of doubters.

Freedom is the recognition that no single person, no single authority or government has a monopoly on the truth, but that every individual life is infinitely precious, that every one of us put on this world has been put there for a reason and has something to offer.

America is a nation made up of hundreds of nationalities. Our ties to you are more than ones of good feeling, they're

ties of kinship In America, you'll find Russians, Armenians, Ukrainians, peoples from Eastern Europe and Central Asia They come from every part of this vast continent, from every continent, to live in harmony, seeking a place where each cultural heritage is respected, each is valued for its diverse strengths and beauties and the richness it brings to our lives

Recently a few individuals and families have been allowed to visit relatives in the West We can only hope that it won't be long before all are allowed to do so, and Ukrainian-Americans, Baltic-Americans, Armenian-Americans, can freely visit their homelands, just as this Irish-American visits his

Freedom, it has been said, makes people selfish and materialistic, but Americans are one of the most religious peoples on Earth Because they know that liberty, just as life itself, is not earned, but a gift from God, they seek to share that gift with the world Reason and experience " said George Washington, in his farewell address, both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle And it is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government "

Democracy is less a system of government than it is a system to keep government limited, unintrusive A system of constraints on power to keep politics and government secondary to the important things in life, the true sources of value found only in family and faith

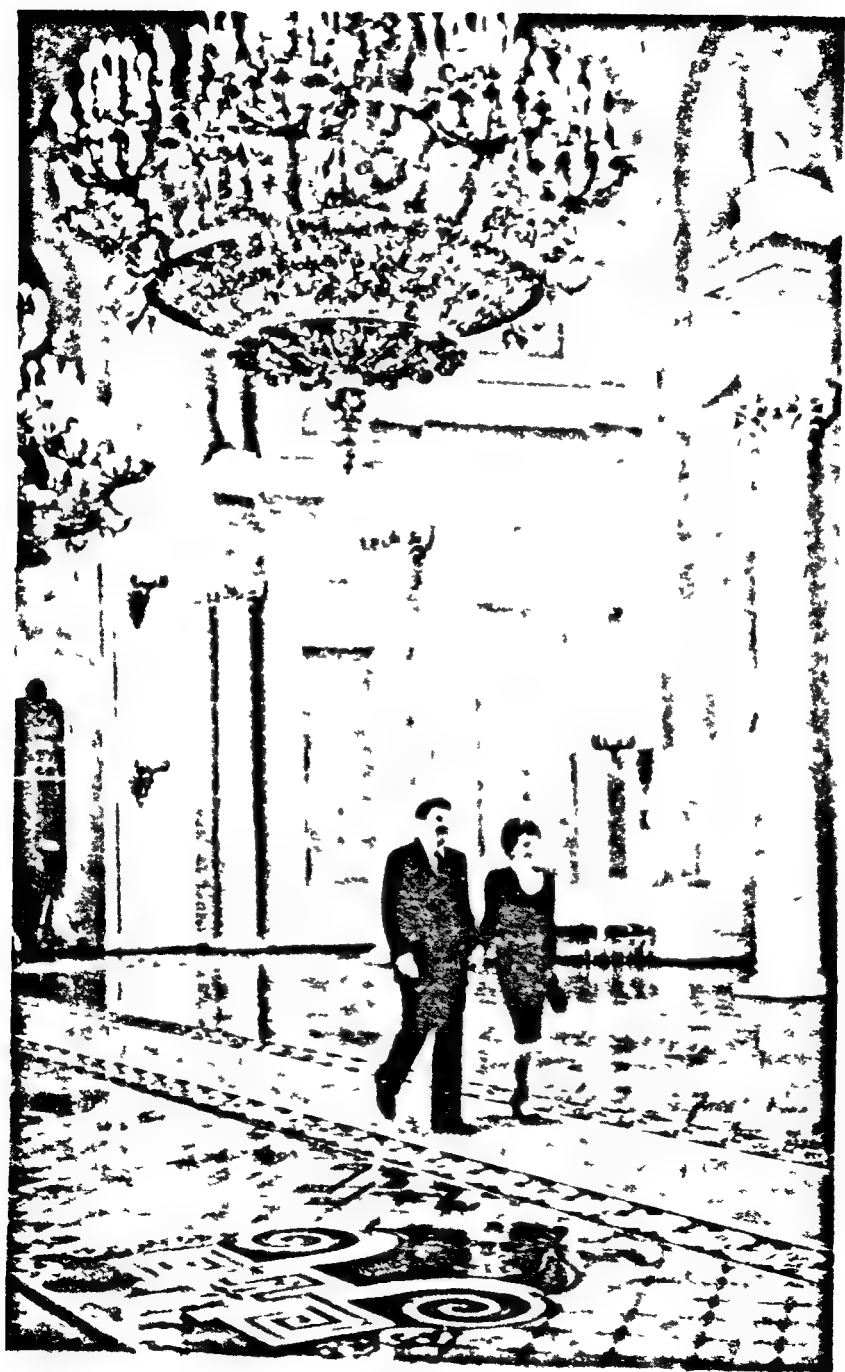
But I hope you know I go on about these things not simply to extol the virtues of my own country, but to speak to the true greatness of the heart and soul of your land Who, after all, needs to tell the land of Dostoevsky about the quest for truth, the home of Kandinsky and Scriabin about imagination, the rich and noble culture of the Uzbek man of letters, Alisher Navoi, about beauty and heart

The great culture of your diverse land speaks with a glowing passion to all humanity Let me cite one of the most eloquent contemporary passages on human freedom It comes, not from the literature of America, but from this country, from one of the greatest writers of the 20th century, Boris Pasternak, in the novel *Dr Zhivago* He writes, ' I think that if the beast who sleeps in man could be held down by threats—any kind of threat, whether of jail or of retribution after death—then the highest emblem of humanity would be the lion tamer in the circus with his whip, not the prophet who sacrificed himself But this is just the point—what has for centuries raised man above the beast is not the cudgel but an inward music—the irresistible power of unarmed truth "



Mr. and Mrs. Reagan's
arrival at Vnukovo airport
on May 29, 1988.







The official welcoming ceremony for the US President in the Grand Kremlin Palace.





On the first day of the summit Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan met in private in the Catherine Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace





During the talks.



On May 30 President Reagan and his wife Nancy visited the Danilov Monastery, the religious and administrative center of the Russian Orthodox Church and the official residence of the Patriarch and the Holy Synod.



On May 31 Ronald Reagan had a meeting with members of the Soviet cultural and artistic community at the Central House of Writers (below) and spoke before students and faculty of Moscow State University







During a stroll on Red Square on May 31



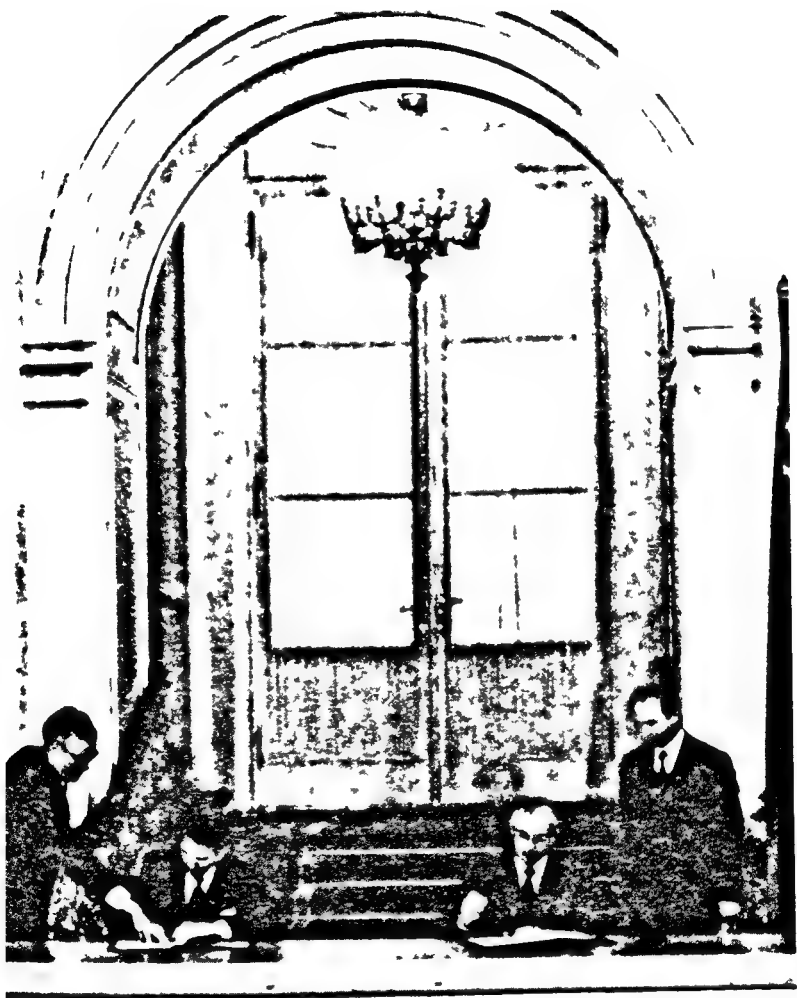
Mrs. Reagan in a Moscow school on May 30.



Nancy Reagan and Raisa Gorbachev in the Kremlin.



**The final meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and
Ronald Reagan in the Catherine Hall of the Grand
Kremlin Palace on June 1**



On the same day in the Vladimir Hall General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan exchanged the instruments of ratification on the entry into force of the INF Treaty. They also signed a protocol on the exchange of the instruments of ratification.



June 2, 1988. The US
President's official visit is
over.



The irresistible power of unarmed truth Today the world looks expectantly to signs of change steps towards greater freedom in the Soviet Union We watch and we hope as we see positive changes taking place There are some, I know in your society who fear that change will bring only disruption and discontinuity—who fear to embrace the hope of the future

Sometimes it takes faith It's like that scene in the cowboy movie 'Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid,' which some here in Moscow recently had a chance to see The posse is closing in on the two outlaws, Butch and Sundance who find themselves trapped on the edge of a cliff, with a sheer drop of hundreds of feet to the raging rapids below Butch turns to Sundance and says their only hope is to jump into the river below, but Sundance refuses He says he'd rather fight it out with the posse, even though they're hopelessly outnumbered Butch says that's suicide and urges him to jump but Sundance still refuses, and finally admits, "I can't swim" Butch breaks up laughing and says, "You crazy fool, the fall will probably kill you" And, by the way, both Butch and Sundance made it, in case you didn't see the movie I think what I've just been talking about is perestroika and what its goals are

But change would not mean rejection of the past Like a tree growing strong through the seasons, rooted in the earth and drawing life from the sun, so, too, positive change must be rooted in traditional values—in the land, in culture, in family and community—and it must take its life from the eternal things, from the source of all life, which is faith Such change will lead to new understandings, new opportunities, to a broader future in which the tradition is not supplanted, but finds its full flowering

That is the future beckoning to your generation At the same time, we should remember that reform that is not institutionalized will always be insecure Such freedom will always be looking over its shoulder A bird on a tether, no matter how long the rope, can always be pulled back And that is why, in my conversation with General Secretary Gorbachev, I have spoken of how important it is to institutionalize change—to put guarantees on reform And we have been talking together about one sad reminder of a divided world, the Berlin Wall It's time to remove the barriers that keep people apart

I'm proposing an increased exchange program on high

school students between our countries General Secretary Gorbachev mentioned on Sunday a wonderful phrase you have in Russian for this "Better to see something once than to hear about it a hundred times" Mr Gorbachev and I first began working on this in 1985, in our discussion today, we agreed on working up to several thousand exchanges a year from each country in the near future But not everyone can travel across the continents and oceans Words travel lighter, and that's why we'd like to make available to this country more of our 11,000 magazines and periodicals, and our television and radio shows, that can be beamed off a satellite in seconds Nothing would please us more than for the Soviet people to get to know us better and to understand our way of life

Just a few years ago, few would have imagined the progress our two nations have made together The INF Treaty—which General Secretary Gorbachev and I signed last December in Washington and whose instruments of ratification we will exchange tomorrow is the first true nuclear arms reduction treaty in history, calling for the elimination of an entire class of US and Soviet nuclear missiles And just 16 days ago, we saw the beginning of your withdrawal from Afghanistan, which gives us hope that soon the fighting may end and the healing may begin, and that that suffering country may find self-determination, unity, and peace at long last

It's my fervent hope that our constructive cooperation on these issues will be carried on to address the continuing destruction of conflicts in many regions of the globe and that the serious discussions that led to the Geneva accords on Afghanistan will help lead to solutions in Southern Africa, Ethiopia, Cambodia, the Persian Gulf, and Central America

I have often said, nations do not distrust each other because they are armed, they are armed because they distrust each other If this globe is to live in peace and prosper, if it is to embrace all the possibilities of the technological revolution, then nations must renounce, once and for all, the right to an expansionist foreign policy Peace between nations must be an enduring goal—not a tactical stage in a continuing conflict

I've been told that there's a popular song in your country—perhaps you know it—whose evocative refrain asks the question, "Do the Russians want a war?" In answer it says, "Go ask that silence lingering in the air, above the birch and poplar there, beneath those trees the soldiers lie Go ask

my mother, ask my wife, then you will have to ask no more, 'do the Russians want a war?'

But what of your one-time allies? What of those who embraced you on the Elbe? What if we were to ask the watery graves of the Pacific, or the European battlefields where America's fallen were buried far from home? What if we were to ask their mothers, sisters, and sons, do Americans want war? Ask us, too, and you'll find the same answer, the same longing in every heart. People do not make wars, governments do—and no mother would ever willingly sacrifice her sons for territorial gain, for economic advantage, for ideology. A people free to choose will always choose peace.

Americans seek always to make friends of old antagonists. After a colonial revolution with Britain we have cemented for all ages the ties of kinship between our nations. After a terrible civil war between North and South, we healed our wounds and found true unity as a nation. We fought two world wars in my lifetime against Germany and one with Japan, but now the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan are two of our closest allies and friends.

Some people point to the trade disputes between us as a sign of strain, but they're the frictions of all families, and the family of free nations is a big and vital and sometimes boisterous one. I can tell you that nothing would please my heart more than in my lifetime to see American and Soviet diplomats grappling with the problem of trade disputes between America and a growing, exuberant, exporting Soviet Union that had opened up to economic freedom and growth.

And as important as these official people-to-people exchanges are, nothing would please me more than for them to become unnecessary, to see travel between East and West become so routine that university students in the Soviet Union could take a month off in the summer and, just like students in the West do now, put packs on their backs and travel from country to country in Europe with barely a passport check in between. Nothing would please me more than to see the day that a concert promoter in, say, England could call up a Soviet rock group—without going through any government agency—and have them playing in Liverpool the next night.

Is this just a dream? Perhaps. But it is a dream that is our responsibility to have come true.

Your generation is living in one of the most exciting,

hopeful times in Soviet history It is a time when the first breath of freedom stirs the air and the heart beats to the accelerated rhythm of hope, when the accumulated spiritual energies of a long silence yearn to break free

I am reminded of the famous passage near the end of Gogol's *Dead Souls* Comparing his nation to a speeding troika, Gogol asks what will be its destination But he writes, "there was no answer save the bell pouring forth marvelous sound "

We do not know what the conclusion will be of this journey, but we're hopeful that the promise of reform will be fulfilled In this Moscow spring, this May 1988, we may be allowed that hope—that freedom like the fresh green sapling planted over Tolstor's grave, will blossom forth at last in the rich fertile soil of your people and culture We may be allowed to hope that the marvelous sound of a new openness will keep rising through, ringing through, leading to a new world of reconciliation, friendship, and peace

Thank you all very much and da blagoslovit vas gospod'
God bless you (*Applause*)

DINNER IN SPASO HOUSE IN HONOR OF MIKHAIL GORBACHEV AND RAISA GORBACHEV

Speech by Ronald Reagan

Mr General Secretary,
Mrs Gorbachev,
Distinguished guests and friends,

It's a pleasure to host all of you tonight and to reciprocate in a small way the hospitality you lavished upon us yesterday evening The General Secretary and I had already held three meetings before this one began here in Moscow Each of those earlier encounters took place in the autumn The days were growing short, the weather ever greyer and colder It makes for a bracing delightful change to have this meeting take place at the high point of spring, a time of long light-filled days

I know that Nancy found her springtime visit to Lenin-grad earlier today both magnificent and moving A play of light upon the rivers and canals added the special splendor

of the season to a city splendid in any season. And everywhere, Nancy has told me, there was a sense of history, especially of Leningrad's immense courage and sacrifice during the Second World War, surely one of the most stirring epics in the whole human story.

Here in Moscow I've been reminded a number of times during this springtime visit of a passage in a book about your country by Laurens Van der Post. Especially struck by the city's churches, Van der Post wrote that when he caught his first sight of the Moscow skyline, he saw "a light of an unusually pure evening upon it. That light was alchemical and it transformed Moscow into a city of gold, the tops of the spires and pinnacles drawing the rigid forms of the skyscrapers after them into arrows of gold aimed at the arched and timeless blue."

So we, too, have found Moscow a city of beauties, a city whose pinnacles and spires reminded one of virtually every turn of man's ancient capacity for aspiration, for reaching out toward the light.

It's a particular pleasure to be able to welcome you to Spaso House, a house of considerable beauty in its own right, the residence of our ambassadors to the Soviet Union.

During the fifty-five years of diplomatic relations between our two nations, Spaso House has served as one of the principal settings for exchanges between us, exchanges formal and informal alike.

There have been some splendid moments within these walls. Sergei Prokofiev once conducted his marvelous "The Love for Three Oranges" in this very room. As wartime allies, our representatives met often under this roof and the Ambassador and Mrs. Matlock have continued the tradition of making Spaso House a centerpiece of American culture, a place to receive and talk with Soviet officials and with people from all walks of life and from all parts of the Soviet Union.

But there have also been quiet times in this house. Unnaturally quiet times. Times when difficult relations between us meant that this house, this huge magnificent house stood virtually empty of visitors.

I'm told that it was even possible to hear the Moscow metro rumbling past ever so faintly deep in the earth below.

Mr. General Secretary,

We know that on matters of great importance, we will continue to differ profoundly, and yet you and I have met

four times now, more often than any previous President and General Secretary

While our discussions have sometimes been pointed or contentious, we possess an enlarged understanding of each other, and of each other's country. On specific matters of policy, we have made progress, often historic progress. And perhaps most important, we have committed our nations to continuing to work together, agreeing that silence must never again be permitted to fall between us.

We have agreed always to continue the interchanges between our nations because I believe we both hear the same voice, the same overwhelming imperative. What that voice says can be expressed in many ways. But I have found it in vivid form in (Boris) Pasternak's poem "The Garden of Gethsemane."

Listen if you will to Pasternak's account of that famous arrest

" there appeared, no one knew from where,
A crowd of slaves and a rabble of knaves
With lights and swords and leading them Judas
With a traitor's kiss on his lips

Peter repulsed the ruffians with his sword
And cut off the ear of one of them,
But he heard 'You cannot decide a dispute with
weapons
Put your sword in its place, o man!'"

That's the voice "Put your sword in its place, o man." That is the imperative, the command. And so we will work together that we might forever keep our swords at our sides.

Mr. General Secretary,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Spaso House has, as I said, seen quiet times. Yet, the animated conversation of this evening has already done much to make up for them.

And so I would like to raise a glass to the continued interchange between our two nations, and, if I may, to Spaso House itself as a symbol of our relations.

May this lovely home never lack for visitors and shared meals and the sounds of spirited conversation and even the peal of hearty laughter.

Thank you. And God bless you.

Speech by Mikhail Gorbachev

Esteemed Mr. President,
Esteemed Mrs. Reagan,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Comrades,

I thank you, Mr. President, for your words of greeting.

Two great nations have given us a sort of mandate: to determine what Soviet-American relations are to be like.

Since the time of our first meeting in Geneva the relations between our countries have overcome a prolonged period of confrontation and reached an acceptable level from which it is already easier to make further progress.

In Reykjavik, in Washington and in the course of your present visit we have held an intensive dialogue. The already ratified first treaty on the reduction of nuclear arms is its biggest result.

The search for the solution of problems is continuing in the course of preparations for the 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive arms.

The Geneva agreement on Afghanistan has entered into force. We already have 47 bilateral agreements on cooperation.

The President of the United States' visit to the USSR is a good opportunity to glance back and at the same time to look into the future.

There have been all sorts of things in the history of relations between our two countries. Both good and bad. Of the good, the Soviet-American comradeship-in-arms during World War II is particularly memorable.

The first buds of Soviet-American friendship appeared during those grim years.

And you will not find a single Soviet person who did not feel bitter when this glorious page in the history of our relations was replaced by the Cold War.

That was a grave trial for our peoples. The world found itself in a dangerous situation when we all sensed the breath of catastrophe. To this day we occasionally feel cold winds.

But if we are to speak of the main tendency of world development, it is turning in the direction of the search for political solutions, cooperation and peace. We have all witnessed significant changes although considerable efforts have yet to be made to achieve irreversible changes.

Although everything cries out for cooperation and trust,

prejudices and stereotypes are still alive and rivalry continues, above all in the military sphere. That this is senseless and catastrophical has been extensively discussed at this meeting as well. Moreover, we can note a certain advance toward better mutual understanding in this field too.

Today I would like to mention another crucial world problem—the situation in the developing world, which cannot but also affect our countries.

The problems encountered by the developing states have turned out to be tragically difficult ones.

Terrible backwardness, hunger, poverty and mass epidemics continue to plague whole nations. Their fantastic debts have become a burning issue that concerns the whole of mankind.

Everybody seems to recognize its complexity and the involvement of extremely different and really vital interests, and to realize that a solution must be found.

We believe that the first and most important thing that can be done here by the international community, most notably the great powers, is to grant unconditional recognition of the freedom of choice.

We insist on justice. We have seriously analyzed the economic situation in developing countries. And we are convinced that a way out is possible through a radical restructuring of the entire system of world economic ties, without any discrimination on political grounds.

This would also assist a political settlement of regional conflicts which not only hinder progress in that part of the world, but disrupt the entire world situation.

Given this kind of approach, our disagreements about which fate awaits the Third World will not take the form of confrontation.

On this issue as well our relationship is “doomed” to be of international significance.

Speaking of our bilateral relations, we look at their potentialities and prospects proceeding first of all from the domestic development of both countries as well as in the context of the world process.

Many Americans who study us and have visited the USSR—and, I hope those here now—have had an opportunity to see for themselves the great scope and momentum that the changes have acquired in this country.

They are based on comprehensive democratization and radical economic reform. It is with satisfaction that I can say

that the President and I had an in-depth exchange on this topic today. We have also talked about our perestroika with other American representatives more than once. And this is very good. This, too, is a sign of change in our relations.

For our part, we seek to follow closely fundamental processes in the United States. We see the utter dissimilarity between what is happening here and in your country, in these very different societies based on different values. But we do not consider this a hindrance to identifying promising areas for mutually advantageous contacts, for cooperation in the interests of both nations.

We stand for competition, for comparison.

One more thing. In dialogue with America, with all its ups and downs, Soviet representatives uphold the interests of the Soviet state. The same is done by Americans in contacts with us.

The truth is that the Soviet Union and the United States, in building their relations, can only effectively realize their own interests by realistically appraising the interests and intentions of the partner and taking them into account. It is necessary to master the complex art of not only coexisting with each other but also building bridges of mutually beneficial cooperation.

The Soviet and American peoples want to live in peace, they want communication wherever there is mutual interest. And there is such interest, and it is growing.

We experience neither fear, nor prejudice. We regard communication as a good thing.

I envision a future in which the USSR and the United States build their relations not on the basis of deterrence and perfection of military potentials but on the basis of disarmament, balance of interests and all-round cooperation.

I envision a future when the solution of real problems is not hindered by problems that are artificially preserved, that are historically outdated, being the legacy of the Cold War, and when rivalry gives way to a joint search based on reason, mutual benefit and readiness for compromises.

I envision a future in which our countries, without claiming special rights in the world, constantly remember their special responsibility in a community of equitable states.

This will be a world more reliable and safer, a world that is needed by all people on Earth, their children and grandchildren, so that they can acquire and preserve the basic human rights—the right to life, to work, to freedom and to the pursuit of happiness.

The road toward this future is neither easy nor short.

We are, probably, at the start of an exceedingly interesting period in the history of our peoples.

This meeting, Mr. President, confirms that we took the correct decision in Geneva three years ago.

Let the coming years bring about an improvement in the international situation! Let life triumph!

June 1, 1988

CEREMONY OF THE EXCHANGE OF THE INF TREATY RATIFICATION DOCUMENTS

Speech by Mikhail Gorbachev

Esteemed Mr. President, esteemed Mrs. Reagan, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, comrades: We are approaching the end of the meeting between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States of America, the fourth such meeting in three years. The visit of the United States President to our country is drawing to a close.

The President and I have summed up the results of a dialogue between our two countries at the highest level.

We have discussed both the immediate and longer-term prospects for Soviet-US relations. We have signed documents which record what has been achieved and provide guidelines for the future.

Among them, an historic place will belong to the ratification documents which give effect to the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

The exchange a few minutes ago of the Instruments of Ratification means that the era of nuclear disarmament has begun.

Assessing the work done over these past few days, we can say that what has been happening these days in Moscow is big politics, politics that affects the interests of millions and millions of people.

Each such meeting dealt a blow at the foundations of the Cold War

Each of them made huge breaches in the Cold War fortress and opened up passages to modern, civilized world politics worthy of the truly new times

But big politics means difficult politics in which every step is not easy to take

Weighing carefully each one of our new steps, we measure it against the security interests of our two nations and of the world as a whole

For that is the only way to achieve truly substantial results with the necessary margin of viability

Big politics also means big responsibility and so it cannot be built on pursuing only one's own interest, which is always inherently one-sided

Such politics also needs a great idea

Humankind has conceived that idea in the pangs of wars and disasters, tragedies and calamities, strivings and discoveries of the 20th century

This in our view, is the idea of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world. It is that idea that is inscribed in the mandate which the Soviet people give to their representatives at the start of any negotiations

This particularly applies to our negotiations with the United States of America

Addressing the Soviet people and the Americans addressing all nations from these hallowed steps of the Moscow Kremlin, I hereby declare we have been working honestly and with perseverance and we shall continue to do so, to fulfill that historic mandate

The first times have already been written into the book of a world without wars, violence, or nuclear weapons. I believe that no one can now close that book and put it aside

President Ronald Reagan and I have agreed that the immediate task before us, which is to conclude a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, can and must be accomplished

In our joint endeavors and discussions, we have learned to understand each other better, to take into account each other's concerns and to search for solutions

The atmosphere in our relations is improving. We're working to make it a constant, not only in our official contacts, but also in the day-to-day management of Soviet-

US relations In this, too, we are guided by a mandate from our peoples

Thanks to the atmosphere of the meetings in Washington and in Moscow, and as a result of the agreements reached, Americans and Soviet people now have more opportunities for communication and for getting to know each other

I am convinced that scientists, students, schoolchildren, cultural personalities, ordinary tourists, athletes, and of course businessmen, will continue to enlarge and add new colors to the fabric of cooperative and even friendly relations Sometimes, they can do that better than politicians

Historians who will one day describe and evaluate what is now being done have probably not yet been born

But every day, babies are being born who will live in the 21st century and to whom we must bequeath a safe and humane world

On behalf of the Soviet leadership and the Soviet people, I wish to tell all those who are concerned, and yet hopeful about the future we shall work to achieve that goal, and we can only do it by working together Thank you

Speech by Ronald Reagan

Mr General Secretary, these are historic moments As we exchange these documents, the instruments of ratification, this treaty, the terms of which we formally agreed to last December in Washington, enters into force

Mr General Secretary, you know that our way here has not been easy At crucial moments your personal intervention was needed and proved decisive, and for this we are grateful

So too, Mr General Secretary, you are aware of how important the objective, not just of arms control, but of arms reduction, has been to my own thinking, and to the policy of my administration since its outset

Seven years ago, when I first suggested the concept of a double-zero treaty, there were those who said that this was so unrealistic an idea that it was irresponsible to even propose it Others simply dismissed the concept as a propaganda ploy or a geopolitical gambit

But skepticism and doubt bring a barren harvest And today, on this table before us, we see the fruits of hope—evidence of what candor and realism can accomplish We

have dared to hope, Mr General Secretary, and we have been rewarded

For the first time in history, an entire class of US-Soviet nuclear missiles is eliminated. In addition, this treaty provides for the most stringent verification in history. And for the first time, inspection teams are actually in residence in our respective countries.

And while this treaty makes possible a new dimension of cooperation between us, much remains on our agenda. We must not stop here, Mr General Secretary, there is much more to be done.

As will be seen in our joint statement later today, more progress has been made toward a strategic arms treaty during our meetings. We must try to move forward in the months ahead to complete this START treaty as soon as possible.

So let us continue to expand the frontiers of trust, even as we verify, Mr General Secretary, even as we verify.

Mr General Secretary, we've agreed many times that there remain differences, important fundamental differences, between us. Yet as we work over the long run to narrow these differences, as we work for what I hope will be a new era of peace and expanded human freedom, we must also acknowledge our solemn responsibility to take steps now to reduce the chances of conflict and to prevent war.

This we have done today, a first step toward a brighter future, a safer world.

America's allies and friends welcome this treaty too. We consulted them fully during its negotiation. We made clear that we would never put their security or their interests at risk, that on the contrary we would sign a treaty only if it enhanced their security, as this one does.

And finally, if I may, I would like to take a moment to thank the United States Senate for their work on this treaty. The way of democracy is sometimes a complicated way, and sometimes trying. But it is a good way, and we believe, the best way.

And once again, Mr General Secretary, I want to extend to you and to all those who labored so hard for this moment, my warmest personal thanks.

FINAL MEETING BETWEEN MIKHAIL GORBACHEV AND RONALD REAGAN

Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee, and US President Ronald Reagan held their final meeting in the Kremlin on June 1

They concluded the discussion of a wide range of matters related to disarmament, regional conflicts and bilateral relations, and humanitarian issues

The sides summed up the results of the Soviet-American talks

Participating in the talks were

On the Soviet side—Andrei Gromyko, Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Eduard Shevardnadze, Member of the Politburo and Foreign Minister; Alexander Yakovlev, Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Dmitri Yazov, Alternate Member of the Politburo and Defense Minister, Anatoli Dobrynin, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Anatoli Chernyayev, Assistant to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Alexander Bessmertnykh, Deputy Foreign Minister, and Yuri Dubinin, Soviet Ambassador to the United States

On the US side—Secretary of State George Shultz, Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci, Howard Baker, Chief of Staff to the President, Colin Powell, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Paul Nitze, Ambassador-at-Large and Special Adviser to the President and the Secretary of State for Arms Control Matters, Edward Rowny, Special Adviser to the President and the Secretary of State for Arms Control Matters, Jack Matlock, US Ambassador to the Soviet Union, and Rozanne Ridgway, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs

JOINT SOVIET-US SUMMIT STATEMENT

In accordance with the understanding reached during the Soviet-US summit meeting in Geneva in November 1985, and

confirmed at the Washington summit in December 1987, Mikhail S Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Ronald W Reagan, President of the United States of America, met in Moscow May 29-June 2, 1988

Attending on the Soviet side were Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Andrei A Gromyko, Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Eduard A Shevardnadze, Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Alexander N Yakovlev, Alternate Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Minister of Defense of the USSR, Dmitri T Yazov, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Anatoli F Dobrynin, Assistant to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Anatoli S Chernyaev, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Alexander A Bessmertnykh, and Ambassador of the USSR to the United States of America Yuri V Dubinin

Attending on the US side were Secretary of State George P Shultz, Secretary of Defense Frank C Carlucci, the White House Chief of Staff Howard H Baker Jr, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Colin L Powell, Ambassador-at-Large and Special Adviser to the President and the Secretary of State for Arms Control Matters, Paul H Nitze, Special Adviser to the President and the Secretary of State for Arms Control Matters, Ambassador Edward L Rowny, Ambassador of the USA to the USSR Jack F Matlock and Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs Rozanne L Ridgway

The General Secretary and the President view the Moscow summit as an important step in the process of putting Soviet-US relations on a more productive and sustainable basis. Their comprehensive and detailed discussions covered the full agenda of issues to which the two leaders agreed during their initial meeting in Geneva in November, 1985—an agenda encompassing arms control, human rights and humanitarian matters, settlement of regional conflicts, and bilateral relations. Serious differences remain on important issues, the frank dialogue which has developed between the two countries remains critical to surmounting these differences.

The talks took place in a constructive atmosphere which provided ample opportunity for candid exchange. As a result,

the sides achieved a better understanding of each other's positions. The two leaders welcomed the progress achieved in various areas of Soviet-US relations since their last meeting in Washington notwithstanding the difficulty and complexity of the issues. They noted with satisfaction numerous concrete agreements which have been achieved, and expressed their determination to redouble efforts in the months ahead in areas where work remains to be done. They praised the creative and intensive efforts made by representatives of both sides in recent months to resolve outstanding differences.

Assessing the state of Soviet-US relations, the General Secretary and the President underscored the historic importance of their meetings in Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington, and Moscow in laying the foundation for a realistic approach to the problems of strengthening stability and reducing the risk of conflict. They reaffirmed their solemn conviction that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought, their determination to prevent any war between the Soviet Union and the United States, whether nuclear or conventional, and their disavowal of any intention to achieve military superiority.

The two leaders are convinced that the expanding political dialogue they have established represents an increasingly effective means of resolving issues of mutual interest and concern. They do not minimize the real differences of history, tradition and ideology which will continue to characterize the Soviet-US relationship. But they believe that the dialogue will endure, because it is based on realism and focused on the achievement of concrete results. It can serve as a constructive basis for addressing not only the problems of the present, but of tomorrow and the next century. It is a process which the General Secretary and the President believe serves the best interests of the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union, and can contribute to a more stable, more peaceful and safer world.

I.

Arms Control

The General Secretary and the President, having expressed the commitment of their two countries to build on progress to date in arms control, determined objectives and next steps on

a wide range of issues in this area. These will guide the efforts of the two governments in the months ahead as they work with each other and with other states toward equitable, verifiable agreements that strengthen international stability and security.

INF

The General Secretary and the President signed the protocol on the exchange of instruments of ratification of the Treaty between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. The two leaders welcomed the entry into force of this historic agreement, which for the first time will eliminate an entire class of Soviet and US nuclear arms, and which sets new standards for arms control. The leaders are determined to achieve the full implementation of all the provisions and understandings of the Treaty, viewing joint and successful work in this respect as an important precedent for future arms control efforts.

Nuclear and Space Talks

The two leaders noted that a Joint Draft Text of a Treaty on Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms has been elaborated. Through this process, the sides have been able to record in the Joint Draft Text extensive and significant areas of agreement and also to detail positions on remaining areas of disagreement. While important additional work is required before this Treaty is ready for signature, many key provisions are recorded in the Joint Draft Text and are considered to be agreed, subject to the completion and ratification of the Treaty.

Taking into account a Treaty on Strategic Offensive Arms, the sides have continued negotiations to achieve a separate agreement concerning the ABM Treaty building on the language of the Washington Summit Joint Statement dated December 10, 1987. Progress was noted in preparing the Joint Draft Text of an associated Protocol. In connection with their obligations under the Protocol, the sides have agreed in particular to use the Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers for transmission of relevant information. The leaders directed their negotiators to prepare the Joint Draft Text of a separate agreement and to continue work on its associated Protocol.

The Joint Draft Treaty on Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms reflects the earlier understanding on establishing ceilings of no more than 1,600 strategic offensive delivery systems and 6 000 warheads as well as agreement on subceilings of 4 900 on the aggregate of ICBM and SLBM warheads and 1,540 warheads on 154 heavy missiles

The Draft Treaty also records the sides' agreement that as a result of the reductions the aggregate throw-weight of the Soviet Union's ICBMs and SLBMs will be reduced to a level approximately 50 per cent below the existing level and this level will not be exceeded

During the negotiations the two sides have also achieved understanding that in future work on the Treaty they will act on the understanding that on deployed ICBMs and SLBMs of existing types the counting rule will include the number of warheads referred to in the Joint Statement of December 10, 1987, and the number of warheads which will be attributed to each new type of ballistic missiles will be subject to negotiation

In addition, the sides agreed on a counting rule for heavy bomber armaments according to which heavy bombers equipped only for nuclear gravity bombs and SRAMs will count as one delivery vehicle against the 1,600 limit and one warhead against the 6,000 limit

The delegations have also prepared Joint Draft Texts of an Inspection Protocol, a Conversion or Elimination Protocol, and a Memorandum of Understanding on data, which are integral parts of the Treaty. These documents build on the verification provisions of the INF Treaty, extending and elaborating them as necessary to meet the more demanding requirements of START. The START verification measures will, at a minimum, include

A Data exchanges, to include declarations and appropriate notifications on the number and location of weapons systems limited by START, including locations and facilities for production, final assembly, storage, testing, repair, training deployment, conversion, and elimination of such systems. Such declarations will be exchanged between the sides before the Treaty is signed and updated periodically

B Baseline inspections to verify the accuracy of these declarations

C On-site observation of elimination of strategic systems necessary to meet the agreed limits

D Continuous on-site monitoring of the perimeter and

portals of critical production facilities to confirm the output of weapons to be limited

E Short-notice on-site inspection of

(i) declared locations during the process of reducing to agreed limits,

(ii) locations where systems covered by this Treaty remain after achieving the agreed limits, and

(iii) locations where such systems have been located (formerly declared facilities)

F Short-notice inspection, in accordance with agreed-upon procedures, of locations where either side considers covert deployment production, storage or repair of strategic offensive arms could be occurring

G Prohibition of the use of concealment or other activities which impeded verification by National Technical Means Such provisions would include a ban on telemetry encryption and would allow for full access to all telemetric information broadcast during missile flight

H Procedures that enable verification of the number of warheads on deployed ballistic missiles of each specific type, including on-site inspection

I Enhanced observation of activities related to reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms by National Technical Means These would include open displays of treaty-limited items at missile bases, bomber bases, and submarine ports at locations and times chosen by the inspecting party

The two sides have also begun to exchange data on their strategic forces

During the course of this meeting in Moscow, the exchanges on START resulted in the achievement of substantial additional common ground, particularly in the areas of ALCMs and the attempts to develop and agree, if possible on a solution to the problem of verification of mobile ICBMs The details of this additional common ground have been recorded in documents exchanged between the sides The delegations in Geneva will record these gains in the Joint Draft Text of the START Treaty

The sides also discussed the question of limiting long-range nuclear-armed SLCMs

Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan expressed their joint confidence that the extensive work done provides the basis for concluding the Treaty on Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms which will promote strategic

stability and strengthen security not only of the peoples of the USSR and the USA, but of all mankind

Guided by this fundamental agreement the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the US President agreed to continue their efforts in this area energetically and purposefully. The delegations of the two countries have been instructed to return to Geneva on July 12, 1988. It has been agreed as a matter of principle that, once the remaining problems are solved and the Treaty and its associated documents are agreed, they will be signed without delay.

Ballistic Missile Launch Notifications

The agreement between the USSR and the US on notifications of launches of Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles and Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles, signed during the Moscow summit, is a practical new step, reflecting the desire of the sides to reduce the risk of outbreak of nuclear war, in particular as a result of misinterpretation, miscalculation or accident.

Nuclear Testing

The leaders reaffirmed the commitment of the two sides to conduct in a single forum full-scale, stage-by-stage negotiations on the issues relating to nuclear testing. In these negotiations the sides as the first step will agree upon effective verification measures which will make it possible to ratify the USSR-US Threshold Test Ban Treaty of 1974 and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty of 1976, and proceed to negotiating further intermediate limitations on nuclear testing leading to the ultimate objective of the complete cessation of nuclear testing as part of an effective disarmament process. This process, among other things, would pursue, as the first priority, the goal of the reduction of nuclear weapons and, ultimately, their elimination. In implementing the first objective of these negotiations, agreement upon effective verification measures for the USSR-US Threshold Test Ban Treaty of 1974, the sides agreed to design and conduct a Joint Verification Experiment at each other's test sites.

The leaders therefore noted with satisfaction the signing of the Joint Verification Experiment Agreement, the considerable preparation under way for the Experiment, and the posi-

tive cooperation being exhibited in particular by the substantial numbers of personnel now engaged in work at each other's test sites. They also noted the substantial progress on a new Protocol to the Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty and urged continuing constructive negotiations on effective verification measures for the Threshold Test Ban Treaty.

Expressing their conviction that the progress achieved so far forms a solid basis for continuing progress on issues relating to nuclear testing, the leaders instructed their negotiators to complete expeditiously the preparation of a Protocol to the Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty and to complete the preparation of a Protocol to the Threshold Test Ban Treaty as soon as possible after the Joint Verification Experiment has been conducted and analyzed. They confirmed their understanding that verification measures for the TTBT will, to the extent appropriate, be used in further nuclear test limitation agreements which may subsequently be reached. They also declared their mutual intention to seek ratification of both the 1974 and 1976 Treaties when the corresponding protocols to the Threshold Test Ban Treaty and the Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty are completed, and to continue negotiations as agreed in the Washington joint summit statement.

Nuclear Non-Proliferation

The two leaders noted that this year marks the 20th Anniversary of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, one of the most important international arms control agreements with over 130 adherents. They reaffirmed their conviction that universal adherence to the NPT is important to international peace and security. They expressed the hope that each state not a party to the Treaty will join it, or make an equally binding commitment under international law to forgo acquisition of nuclear weapons and prevent nuclear weapons proliferation. This will enhance the possibility of progress toward reducing nuclear armaments and reduce the threat of nuclear war.

The two leaders also confirmed their support of the International Atomic Energy Agency, and agreed that they would continue efforts to further strengthen it. They reaffirmed the value of their regular consultations on non-proliferation and agreed that they should continue

Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers

The leaders expressed satisfaction over the activation of the new communications link between the Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers in Moscow and Washington, established in accordance with the Soviet-US agreement of September 15, 1987. It was agreed that the centers can play an important role in the context of a future Treaty on reducing Soviet and US strategic nuclear arms.

Chemical Weapons

The leaders reviewed the status of on-going multilateral negotiations and bilateral Soviet-US consultations toward a comprehensive, effectively verifiable, and truly global ban on chemical weapons, encompassing all chemical weapons-capable states. They also expressed concern over the growing problem of chemical weapons proliferation and use.

The leaders reaffirmed the importance of efforts to address, as a matter of continuing urgency, the unique challenges of a chemical weapons ban and to achieve an effective convention. While noting the progress already achieved in the talks and the difficult problems with regard to effective monitoring of the global prohibition of chemical weapons and the non-use of dual-capable chemicals for chemical weapons purposes, the leaders underlined the need for concrete solutions to the problems of ensuring effective verification and undiminished security for all convention participants. They gave instructions to their respective delegations to this effect.

Both sides agreed on the vital importance of greater openness by all states as a way to build confidence and strengthen the foundation for an effective convention. The leaders also emphasized the necessity of close coordination on a multilateral basis in order to ensure the participation of all CW-possessing and CW-capable states in the convention.

Both sides strongly condemned the dangerous spread and illegal use of chemical weapons in violation of the 1925 Geneva Protocol. They stressed the importance of both technical and political solutions to this problem and confirmed their support for international investigations of suspected violations. Noting the initial efforts being made to control the export of chemicals used in manufacturing chemical weapons, the leaders called on all nations with the capability

of producing such chemicals to institute stringent export controls to inhibit the proliferation of chemical weapons.

Conventional Arms Control

The leaders emphasized the importance of strengthening stability and security in the whole of Europe. They welcomed progress to date on development of a mandate for new negotiations on armed forces and conventional armaments. They expressed their hope for an early and balanced conclusion to the Vienna CSCE Follow-Up Meeting. The President and the General Secretary also noted that full implementation of the provisions of the document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe can significantly increase openness and mutual confidence.

They also discussed the situation in the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) negotiations in Vienna.

Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

They expressed their commitment to further development of the CSCE process. The USSR and the US will continue to work with the other 33 participants to bring the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting to a successful conclusion, through significant results in all the principal areas of the Helsinki Final Act and Madrid Concluding Document.

Ballistic Missile Technology Proliferation

The leaders agreed to bilateral discussions at the level of experts on the problem of proliferation of ballistic missile technology.

Third Special Session of the UN General Assembly

The General Secretary and the President noted the importance of the ongoing Third Special Session on Disarmament.

II.

Human Rights and Humanitarian Concerns

The General Secretary and the President engaged in a detailed discussion of human rights and humanitarian concerns. The leaders reviewed the increasingly broad and de-

tailed Soviet-US dialogue in this area and agreed that it should be conducted at all levels in order to achieve sustained, concrete progress. They noted that this dialogue should seek to maximize assurance of the rights, freedoms and human dignity of individuals, promotion of people-to-people communications and contacts, active sharing of spiritual, cultural, historical and other values, and greater mutual understanding and respect between the two countries. Toward this end, they discussed the possible establishment of a forum which, meeting regularly, would bring together participants from across the range of their two societies. They noted steps already taken to establish the exchange of information and contacts between legislative bodies of both countries, as well as discussions between legal experts, physicians and representatives of other professions directly involved in matters pertaining to human rights, and between representatives of non-governmental organizations.

III.

Regional Issues

The General Secretary and the President thoroughly discussed a wide range of regional questions, including the Middle East, the Iran-Iraq war, southern Africa, the Horn of Africa, Central America, Cambodia, the Korean Peninsula, and other issues. They expressed satisfaction with the April 1988 conclusion in Geneva of accords on an Afghanistan settlement. Although the discussions revealed serious differences both in the assessment of the causes of regional tensions and in the means to overcome them, the leaders agreed that these differences need not be an obstacle to constructive interaction between the USSR and the US.

They reaffirmed their intention to continue Soviet-US discussions at all levels aimed at helping parties to regional conflicts find peaceful solutions which advance their independence, freedom and security. They emphasized the importance of enhancing the capacity of the United Nations and other international institutions to contribute to the resolution of regional conflicts.

IV.

Bilateral Affairs

The General Secretary and the President reviewed progress in further expanding bilateral contacts, exchanges and cooperation since their meeting in Washington, D C in December, 1987. They noted the increasingly important role that mutually beneficial interchange between the two countries can play in improving mutual understanding and providing stability in the Soviet-US relationship. They stated their intention to intensify such ties.

They noted with particular satisfaction that concrete agreements had been reached in most of the areas identified at their meetings in Geneva, Reykjavik and Washington.

Bilateral Agreements and Cooperative Activities

The General Secretary and the President welcomed the conclusion of a number of bilateral agreements which open new opportunities for fruitful cooperation in the following fields: cooperation in transportation science and technology, maritime search and rescue, operational coordination between Soviet and US radio navigation systems in the Northern Pacific and Bering Sea, and mutual fisheries relations.

The two leaders welcomed the recent signing of a new Memorandum on Civilian Nuclear Reactor Safety under the bilateral agreement on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. There was an exchange of notes to extend that Agreement.

They expressed satisfaction with the recent signing of a new protocol under the bilateral Housing Agreement for cooperation in construction research relating to extreme geological and unusual climatic conditions.

They reviewed the status of negotiations between the two countries concerning maritime shipping, the USSR-US maritime boundary, basic scientific research, and emergency pollution clean-up in the Bering and Chukchi Seas. They instructed their negotiators to accelerate efforts to achieve mutually acceptable agreements in these areas at the earliest opportunity.

The two leaders welcomed the start of bilateral discussions on combatting narcotics trafficking. They noted with satisfaction ongoing consultations between the two sides concerning law of the sea, air and sea transportation safety, and areas of mutual interest in the field of law.

Cultural and People-to-People Exchanges

Noting the expansion of exchanges in the areas of education, science, culture and sports under the General Exchanges Agreement, the two leaders welcomed the signing of a new implementing program for 1989-91 under the Agreement and expressed their intention to continue expansion of such exchanges. During the time in which this program is in force, the two sides, taking into consideration their mutual interest as well as financial and technical conditions, will conduct negotiations on the opening of culture information centers in the USSR and the US with the aim of signing an appropriate agreement on behalf of the governments of both countries.

They expressed satisfaction that, over the course of their dialogue, people-to-people contacts and exchanges between non-governmental organizations have significantly increased and become one of the most dynamic elements in the bilateral relationship. They reaffirmed their commitment to further growth of such exchanges, which contribute to mutual understanding, and welcomed plans for increased exchanges of young people in the future. In this context, they expressed their readiness to consider in practical terms the idea of further developing exchanges of high school students. They cited recent joint Soviet-US initiatives on culture, theater and the cinema as examples of new opportunities to engage those involved in the creative arts.

Noting the rapidly growing sports ties between the two countries, including their national Olympic committees, the two leaders expressed their support for the International Olympic Movement, which promotes international cooperation and understanding through athletic competition.

Other Cooperative Activities

The General Secretary and the President noted the successful expansion of scientific cooperation within the framework of bilateral agreements in Environmental Protection, Medical Science and Public Health, Artificial Heart Research and Development, Agriculture, and Studies of the World Ocean, and expressed their intention to continue to expand activities under these Agreements in areas of mutual benefit to the two sides.

The General Secretary and the President noted with pleasure the commencement of work on a conceptual design of an International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor (ITER), under the auspices of the International Atomic Energy Agency between scientists and experts from the Soviet Union, the United States, the European Atomic Energy Community, and Japan. The two leaders noted the significance of this next step toward the development of fusion power as a cheap, environmentally sound, and essentially inexhaustible energy source for the benefit of all mankind.

The General Secretary and the President welcomed agreement by representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States, Canada and France to institutionalize in the near future the COSPAS/SARSAT space-based, life-saving global search and rescue system.

Both leaders reaffirmed their support for the WHO/UNICEF goal of reducing the scale of preventable childhood death through the most effective methods of saving children. They urged other countries and the international community to intensify efforts to achieve this goal.

Global Climate and Environmental Change Initiative

The two leaders expressed their satisfaction with activities since the Washington summit in expanding cooperation with respect to global climate and environmental change, including in areas of mutual concern relating to environmental protection, such as protection and conservation of stratospheric ozone and a possible global warming trend. They emphasized their desire to make more active use of the unique opportunities afforded by the space programs of the two countries to conduct global monitoring of the environment and the ecology of the Earth's land, oceans and atmosphere. They underscored the need to continue to promote both bilateral and multilateral cooperation in this important area in the future.

Initiative for Expanded Civil Space Cooperation

Recognizing the long-standing commitment of both countries to space science and exploration, and noting the progress made under the 1987 USSR-US Cooperative Agreement in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space for Peaceful Purposes, the two leaders agreed to a new initiative

to expand civil space cooperation by exchanging flight opportunities for scientific instruments to fly on each other's spacecraft, and by exchanging results of independent national studies of future unmanned solar system exploration missions as a means of assessing prospects for further Soviet-US cooperation on such missions. They also agreed to expand exchanges of space science data and of scientists, to enhance the scientific benefit that can be derived from the two countries' space research missions. They noted scientific missions to the Moon and Mars as areas of possible bilateral and international cooperation.

Arctic Contacts and Cooperation

Taking into account the unique environmental, demographic and other characteristics of the Arctic, the two leaders reaffirmed their support for expanded bilateral and regional contacts and cooperation in this area. They noted plans and opportunities for increased scientific and environmental cooperation under a number of bilateral agreements as well as within an International Arctic Science Committee of states with interests in the region. They expressed their support for increased people-to-people contacts between the native peoples of Alaska and the Soviet North.

The General Secretary and the President noted the positive role played by the multilateral Antarctic Treaty and emphasized the importance of Soviet-US scientific and environmental cooperation in that region.

Trade and Economic Affairs

The two sides reconfirmed their strong support for the expansion of mutually beneficial trade and economic relations and noted recent activity in this area. They reiterated their belief that commercially viable joint ventures complying with the laws and regulations of both countries could play a role in the further development of commercial relations. They welcomed the results of the meeting of the Joint USSR-US Commercial Commission in April and noted with satisfaction that working groups had been created under the Commission to further the establishment of better conditions under which mutually advantageous trade can develop. Taking note of the 1974 Joint Statement and Protocol amending the Long-Term Agreement between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

and the United States of America to Facilitate Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation issued at the conclusion of the Joint Commercial Commission, they agreed that the Commission should continue to meet to build upon the forward momentum which has been generated.

The two leaders cited expanding relations between Aeroflot and Pan American Airlines under the government-to-government Civil Air Transportation Agreement as a positive example of mutually beneficial cooperation.

Consulates Exchange/Diplomatic and Consular Missions

The General Secretary and the President reaffirmed their agreement to open Consulates General in Kiev and New York as soon as practicable.

The two leaders discussed questions relating to ensuring adequate and secure conditions for Soviet and US diplomatic and consular establishments and their personnel in each other's territory. They agreed on the need to approach problems relating to such matters constructively and on the basis of reciprocity.

V.

Future Meetings

The General Secretary and the President, recognizing the importance of their personal involvement in the development of relations in the months ahead, instructed Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and Secretary of State Shultz to meet as necessary and to report to them on ways to ensure continued practical progress across the full range of issues. Expert-level contacts will also continue on an intensified basis.

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV GIVES A PRESS CONFERENCE

Statement by Mikhail Gorbachev

Our delegation that took part in the talks is present here, with the exception of Andrei Gromyko. We are at your disposal.

But apparently in accordance with tradition I should say a few words as to how we assess the results of the meeting

The fourth meeting between the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the President of the United States in three years has ended. This is not just arithmetics. I believe this is a statement full of meaning and big political importance

Four meetings in three years. This characterizes the intensity of the political dialogue, the level of our relations. And I think that already by itself this is very meaningful

It is only natural that across the whole world, particularly in the Soviet Union and the United States and evidently among you journalists there arises the question—what has the Moscow summit produced? Where has it led to? Has it added anything new to the previous meetings?

I will begin by saying that we all, and I am convinced of this, were participants in a major event. The meeting has really demonstrated once more the importance of the dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States, confirmed once again the correctness of the choice of road made in Geneva two and a half years ago. By way of Reykjavik and Washington we came to Moscow. This is a unique process in post-war history. It is important that this is realized by all—both politicians and the public which is displaying a big interest in how relations between our countries are shaping up

In the three years I have been in the post of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, I have had more than two hundred meetings of an international character. I do not recall virtually a single meeting with friends from socialist countries, with representatives of capitalist and nonaligned countries in which the thought would not have been expressed and emphasized that everybody is interested in seeing Soviet-American relations directed into a normal, healthy channel

Such is the reality that is determined by the weight of our countries

Yet, why has such an intensive dialogue, a process of immense importance, become possible?

I think it is thanks to realism. I mean realism in the policy both of the Soviet Union and of the United States, for the manifestation of this approach by one side alone would not guarantee the possibility of such a process

I don't want to engage in guesswork as to where confrontation would lead us if it continued, if the Kremlin and the

White House lacked the resolve to turn the steering wheel in good time and in the right direction—from confrontation to the search for areas and spheres of cooperation, to the buildup of a political dialogue

When the realities became clear, we started a dialogue accompanied by negotiations, and these negotiations, in turn, brought about agreements

Relations that had harbored a dreadful threat to the entire world, to the very existence of mankind, started to change. The two most powerful nations began reforming their relationship in their own interests and the interests of the international community

That was a hard thing to do. A few minutes ago I mentioned that as the President and I exchanged the instruments of ratification

Things are not easy, but on the whole an important, productive and positive process is under way

Each of the four meetings was both a difficult and fruitful search for a balance of interests, each stepped up the efforts for finding solutions to major problems of universal human importance

To illustrate the point, I will remind you of Reykjavik, the Reykjavik drama. This is but one example of how hard, sometimes dramatically so, the political dialogue between the two world powers is evolving

What are the results of the fourth summit? The principal outcome is that the dialogue has been continued, now encompassing all vital issues of international politics and bilateral relations. The Moscow meeting has shown again that the dialogue has come to deal with real politics

I will not say that our meetings got rid of propaganda moves, demarches and attempts to score points through propaganda manoeuvring. Nevertheless, these meetings are increasingly characterized by a striving, a desire to make real politics. I am convinced that this is a correct path, it is precisely in this way that we should act

When in Washington, at the very first meeting, we felt an attempt at coaching us, we declined this approach and said that we had arrived to engage in real politics. We acted in the same way at this, the fourth summit

That is why it is characterized by deep-going, at times keen debate, up to the last minute of negotiations, not at the table, but when we already stood up—"wall against wall," as we say in Russia

I would like to emphasize once again the idea of continuity that prevailed throughout the atmosphere of the meetings. You will find that in the final document I regard it as a large-scale document. It embraces the idea that the dialogue, our fourth summit lays bricks into the building of our future relations, and launches movement to continue in the 21st century.

What specifically has been accomplished? Following the political dialogue which I place highest, we have completed the process of agreeing on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Preparations for the fourth meeting pushed on that process, and we were able to exchange the instruments of ratification. This was not merely a formal act. I'll permit myself to use the following solemn phrasing: the completion of the procedures for putting into effect the INF treaty has made the Moscow meeting a landmark in Soviet-American dialogue, and in world politics as well.

Not only the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States but also their allies, the entire world public, the entire world community can congratulate themselves. This is a joint victory for reason and realism. It has become possible because today on all continents, in all countries irrespective of their social choice and other values which each people chooses and determines itself, there is a common understanding that the world has found itself on a line where one must stop, when it is necessary to open a road in other direction—the direction towards a nuclear-free, non-violent world, towards an improvement of international relations.

Many made a real, substantial contribution to the attainment of this major victory. I must also note the role of the press. When it put difficult questions to politicians and to the participants in the talks, this too was a necessary contribution because the questions put by journalists helped to raise the talks to the level at which they were concrete and convincing, helped to find solutions and arguments, helped to work out the forms of verification. So I consider it my duty to note the press as well.

It is now a matter of honor, first of all for the Soviet Union and the United States, and not only for them but for other states as well, for every letter and comma of the Treaty to be observed and implemented.

Further I must say that the President and I have approved a joint statement. As I have already said, it sums up what has been accomplished after the Washington meeting and what

was done here, in Moscow. At the same time the statement confirms a sort of agenda for the Soviet-American dialogue in future. In short, this is an important political document heralding a whole stage in our relations. The provisions relating to the importance of continuing and building up the political dialogue between countries and intensifying talks are the most substantial.

I would note the advance also in the sphere of disarmament. This is a very difficult process, especially concerning the question of strategic offensive arms. This, it appears, is the most complex task which we have encountered in post-war world politics. But I must firmly state that step by step we are advancing towards the treaty on the reduction of these weapons. Today one of the correspondents, maybe of those present here, asked whether after the talks held here I would retain my optimism concerning the conclusion of this treaty this year, during the present Administration. I can say that if the work is conducted effectively, if the present Administration and if both sides act effectively, we can achieve the treaty.

I want to draw attention to our initiative, that has gained much ground, concerning talks on the reduction of armaments and armed forces in Europe. It was published and I will not be repetitive. Now if something has to be specified, you are free to ask questions.

A whole package of agreements concerning bilateral relations between our countries has been signed. They too have been published.

There was an indepth discussion of the problem of regional conflicts. I was present at all our conversations with the President and at two plenary meetings. It was discussed with particular detail and thoroughness today.

I think that we have come to face a situation when it is possible to state that at the world's "flash points" real chances have emerged for resolving regional problems and untangling these tight "knots" on the basis of political approaches, on a basis of the balance of interests.

As a matter of fact, we today stated the following. Firstly, there is Afghanistan, and I will talk about that later on. Secondly, there is a process concerning the Middle East. It is proceeding, positions are drawing closer and there is growing understanding of the need for its solution along the lines of an international conference. This has already been recognized. But the point at issue is how to regard this conference. All

these issues will be specified in the course of future efforts

There is a Kampuchean problem. Thanks to the initiative recently displayed by Vietnam and Kampuchea, it is being moved into the plane where it can be resolved in the nearest future.

A real process is under way, and there is a possibility of solutions, in Central America, in Southern Africa, and so on.

If some view my considerations as unjustified optimism as an attempt at wishful thinking, I think they are wrong. Let us compare the situation three-four years ago and today. The situation has substantially changed. There have emerged chances for a political solution of all these conflicts. Formidable forces have been set in motion in these regions and in the world as a whole. I have always stressed in conversations with the President and all American officials the principal idea—we should not lose, nor pass up this chance.

In this connection I directly told the President that the signing of the agreements on Afghanistan creates a precedent that exceeds in its importance the framework of this very problem. This is the first instance when the Soviet Union and the United States, along with parties directly involved in the conflict, have signed an agreement paving the way for a political solution.

We will try our utmost to abide by the agreements, and expect the same attitude from all other parties to the accords, including the United States of America. I think that if we fail this time, if this positive precedent does not materialize, this will have far-reaching consequences and tell upon approaches to similar problems in other regions.

There are grounds for concern. Two worrying events occurred recently: firstly, the city of Kabul, the Soviet Embassy and our troops in Kabul are fired upon. Secondly, comrades of ours perished in the Kandahar area yesterday, several people were reported missing. We promised that Soviet troops would not participate in hostilities from the moment the troop withdrawal began. We did act in this way. But we made a reservation to the effect that such would be their actions if there were no provocations and bandit attacks on our troops. If this happens, we will respond in a proper way. This should be clear, too.

An accord is an accord. We see what Pakistan is doing and in this connection the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement. I do not want to go into details. I only

want to underscore that there are attempts to torpedo the accords, which would have serious negative consequences. This was stated most candidly to the President and the whole American delegation.

I think that the United States and the Soviet Union can make a constructive contribution to the solution of regional conflicts on the basis of political approaches, taking into account the balance of interests of all the participants in a conflict, on the basis of realism.

I can note a certain advance on humanitarian issues, on human rights. I set the question before the President as follows:

Some concrete problems arise in this sphere from time to time. We have always attentively studied and tackled them. And we shall further study and solve them. But the more thought I give to the situation, the more I come to believe that the American Administration does not have an understanding of the real situation with human rights, with the processes that are taking place in our country in the sphere of democracy. Probably we too do not have a clear understanding of the American situation in this sphere of life. I proposed let us organize a seminar within the framework of interparliamentary exchanges at which the representatives of our Parliaments, political and public circles would meet and exchange information and evaluations as to what is taking place in America and in our society in this sphere. We are prepared for this.

There remains very much speculation regarding the issue of human rights. And I must say that propaganda moves, all sorts of shows prevailed in this part of the fourth summit. So when I learned, true with a delay, only today because I was too busy to read the newspapers, that our press reacted to this accordingly, I arrived at the conclusion that it had acted correctly, within the framework of glasnost. This part of the President's visit had to be shown to our people. The people should know everything.

I am not thrilled by this part of the fourth summit. I think that it is necessary to engage in realistic politics. When the President expressed to me his views about human rights in the Soviet Union, I also asked him a lot of questions. And it took him a long time to explain because he wanted me to change my opinion of the human rights situation in the United States. On hearing him out I said, "Mr. President, your explanations are not convincing because I used facts based on

data of the American Congress, not to mention the press which prints many materials on this question. In my position it is best to proceed from official data.

I think this is the only way to conduct talks. Let us look at one another with open eyes, let us see each other's history, traditions and values, let us respect each other's choice, respect our peoples. For, after all, it is they who are making the choice. Incidentally, the peoples always come out for rapprochement, for mutual knowledge, for friendship. The Americans are saying this and Soviet people are openly speaking about this. Much was told to the President on this score yesterday. So let us listen to what our people want. Since they are elected by the people, politicians should detect what the people want and implement this in concrete policies. We should help this process if we are intent on improving Soviet-American relations and the situation in the world as a whole.

I must say that the possibility of making contact with Soviet people was a substantial fact of the US President's visit to the Soviet Union. This was the first visit by the President and his wife, a first acquaintance to replenish their impressions of the Soviet Union of Soviet people. There was much within the framework of the program, while in several instances they acted of their own choice, outside the program.

Mrs. Reagan's program, which enabled her to get acquainted with the Soviet Union, was a substantial element. Yesterday, when the President conversed with our people, with me present, somebody asked him, and I think this got into the press, whether he still regarded the Soviet Union as an "evil empire."

No, he replied. Moreover, he said this at a press conference near the Czar Cannon, in the Kremlin, in the centre of the "evil empire." We take note of this and it means, as the ancient Greeks used to say, "everything flows and everything changes." This confirms my thought that the President has a sense of realism and that this is a very important quality for a politician. Regardless of what the realities are, one must look them squarely in the eye. It is only a policy based on analysis, on an evaluation of real processes that merits to be termed a policy.

I have got slightly carried away and have begun to speak for the President. I think it is best for the President to tell you himself what he thinks about his meetings. But I mentioned only those remarks which I was witness to.

In short, this is how I would sum up the results. The President's visit and the talks will serve the improvement of Soviet-American relations, their development and strengthening and will raise them to a still higher level.

Could more have been attained? This, naturally, interests both you and us. We have just had a discussion and that is why my colleagues and I were late for the meeting with you. The discussion did not produce any advance, we stopped halfway. I was compelled to say, well, politics is the art of the possible. But I hold that more could have been achieved at this meeting.

For example, I proposed to the President making a big new stride in spelling out the political realities of our time as a platform of intentions and political actions. Here my colleagues in the leadership and I proceeded from the experience that we have accumulated since Geneva. There we stated: Nuclear war is impossible, impermissible, there can be no victors in it and in general no war at all between the Soviet Union and America is permissible.

This did not mean that everything would be solved and nuclear arms would vanish on the second day or on the second week after the meeting. No, the arms remain but this joint statement was invested with tremendous meaning, evoking a great response throughout the world. Today we increasingly are arriving at the conclusion that problems should be solved by political means, on the basis of a balance of interests, on a basis of respect for the social choice of peoples. Whether we want it or not, we are all obliged to learn to live in our real world.

If you take the latest book containing the President's speeches and the book of selected articles and speeches by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in the first and in the second you will see these statements. So proceeding from the understanding of lessons that have been drawn from the practice of recent years, we proposed including this political understanding into the present joint statement. Here is the draft that I suggested to the President. Mindful of the existing realities in the modern world, we both believe that no outstanding issues defy solution and that they should not be solved by military means, that we both regard peaceful coexistence as a universal principle of international relations, and that the equality of all states, non-interference in internal affairs and freedom of socio-political choice should be recognised as standards that are inalienable and obligatory.

for all. I gave the President the Russian and the English texts. I like it, he said on reading the text.

When we came today to reach agreement on the final text of the joint statement, it turned out that not all in the President's milieu liked the idea of such a wording. And this became the subject of a discussion. We felt that there was a dislike for the term "peaceful coexistence" as it had been used in the past in documents which were signed by the Soviet leadership with Nixon and Kissinger. We withdrew this term since it was unacceptable although we really want to coexist, and I think nobody will put this to doubt.

There appeared a new variant and the President himself suggested elements of that formula. Yet it did not appear in such form in the concluding statement although serious common understandings are stated in it. But they could have been more serious and weightier. This does not mean at all that, were we to state jointly today that we should proceed from the premise of using political methods to solve problems and not to bank on their military solution, the troops and armaments would vanish overnight.

No, nuclear arms did not vanish after we noted in Geneva the unacceptability and impermissibility of nuclear war. But that was a very important political point of reference both for the Soviet-American dialogue and for dialogue in the world. We regarded that as a very important statement, especially since this view was expressed separately by the leaders both of the Soviet Union and the United States. I think that at the meeting here a chance was lost to make a big step towards forming civilised international relations.

We failed to agree on the subject of the talks on conventional arms in Europe. We suggested using the summit meeting, but, naturally, without replacing the Vienna forum, to make its work easier. For the point at issue is that we, the Soviet Union and the Americans, come to some accord, to some understanding on such an important issue as the subject of the talks, the issue that now restrains the process of preparing a mandate in Vienna.

This position, by the way, was brought forth in Geneva at a meeting between Mr. George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. Nonetheless, despite the positive attitude to it from both sides, it has not been included in the statement. Even though the excuse was quite plausible—it was not, purportedly, proper to replace the Vienna dialogue.

That we were not going to do. On the contrary, we wanted

to make work at it easier by offering a viewpoint of ours that could be used by the participants in the Vienna meeting. What I think is there is much talking to the effect that one cannot advance the process of nuclear disarmament, 50 per cent reductions, without handling the problem of conventional arms and the reduction of armaments in Europe. But as soon as we come to real proposals in order to advance that process, then incomprehensible manoeuvring and departure begin.

The West was alarmed by the Warsaw Pact's alleged superiority in strength. When we said let us exchange data to clarify the entire matter, the other side evaded giving an answer. Now we proposed the following. Let us say that we have reached an understanding on the subject of the negotiations. This will make work easier in Vienna. Nothing has come off.

The Americans have not accepted our bold and quite realistic plan consisting of three stages and integral parts directed at eliminating asymmetry and imbalance in Europe and effecting resolute transition to creating in the continent a situation when the structure of arms and armed forces is non-offensive and their level is considerably lower.

I believe that a good chance to impart proper dynamics to the talks on diminishing the danger of confrontation between the two most powerful alliances and, thus, contributing to international security has been passed up.

Politics is the art of the possible. Anyway, I wouldn't draw dramatic conclusions because not everything that could have happened came off. Nevertheless, I ought to share my considerations so that you have a fuller understanding of the content of the talks.

Before concluding my statement, I would like to mention one general impression. I wouldn't be quite honest and truthful with you if I failed to say this. I form an impression that the American stance was contradictory. This observation is based not only on the results of this meeting. We have already come across this phenomenon before.

What is contradictory about the American approach, about the American stance? On the one hand, we have a joint statement to the effect that war should be prevented, that it is inadmissible. We conduct a business-like discussion about reducing weapons, about disarmament, talk about the preference of political solutions of problems. On the other hand, we constantly hear, and we heard it this time in Moscow and

many times before the President's departure for here, about relying on force

This means that force—armed force, military might—is proclaimed to be the chief principle of United States policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, and not only the Soviet Union. How are we to tally the Geneva statements with this approach? On the one hand, the President and I state that both our peoples want to live in peace in cooperation and even be friends. This also finds its reflection in what ordinary people say. I have read American press reports. Asked about their vision of our relations in the year 2000, the Americans preferred development of friendly relations and cooperation to rivalry.

It would seem that we should proceed from this, guide ourselves in accordance with the will of our peoples. This does not happen in real politics. This is also noticeable in the sphere of economic ties. The clear interest of an influential part of the American business community to cooperate with us runs up against bans, restrictions and downright intimidation. A most-unfavored-nation status is applied in the United States with regard to the Soviet Union.

The President and I yesterday had a serious discussion on this subject. I said why should the dead grip at the coat-tails of the living, referring to the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. One of them is dead, the other is a political corpse. Why should they hold us back? The amendment was adopted in a totally different situation, decades ago.

In today's totally different, changed world, we ought to conceive and shape our policy on the basis of present-day realities.

This reminds me of British legislation under which wrongful actions committed today are judged on the basis of laws adopted in the 13th-14th centuries.

Traditions do differ. I have nothing against them. This is up to the British people. I don't mean to offend the British correspondents. But in politics, one should proceed from today's realities and even look to the future. I said to the President: We have already proved that we can live without each other economically, now we should prove that we can cooperate, the more so, for we are simply doomed to cooperation. The alternative to that leads to a totally unpredictable situation. One cannot maintain lasting cooperation without it resting on trade, on economic cooperation.

I would even risk raising the question in the following

way The more we depend on each other economically, the more we will be predictable on the political plane

Do you agree? You may not reply, just give your answers in your newspaper commentaries

We see this contradiction in the sphere of propaganda and in the behavior of officials, especially on issues of human rights We say yes, we are independent, each people has the right to social choice, relies on its values Yes, we are different, but that is no reason for confrontation, let alone war It's good that there is diversity This is a ground for comparison, an impetus to thought, to judgement

We can remain ourselves and live normally, in a civilized world

We have not yet noticed on the part of the Americans a serious will to orient themselves toward new phenomena, to take into account the changes in our society As Mayakovsky used to say if stars light up, does it not mean that somebody needs this? So this must be to somebody's advantage But I am sure that our peoples have a different view, and this is the decisive factor in shaping policy This contradictoriness in American policy and the conduct of the US Administration is disappointing to our people

And still, returning to the overall appraisal of the fourth Soviet-American summit, I would like to say that this is a great event, that the dialogue continues The continuity has been given an added impulse, the Soviet-American relations have advanced I don't know whether by one or by two stages, but in any case, they were brought to new stages And this in itself is a remarkable fact in world politics

This is what I wanted to tell you

* * *

Then Mikhail Gorbachev answered questions from journalists

Question (the newspaper *Izvestia*) Mikhail Sergeyevich, you have held a number of fruitful meetings with President Reagan He will leave the White House in eight months' time Do you think that regular contacts with the next President are possible? Do you think that there can be a meeting to get acquainted with the next President of the USA after he is inaugurated?

Answer I think this is not just possible, but necessary, and vitally so

Question (CBS television network, USA) You have mentioned twice the missed opportunities at the talks on strategic offensive arms. You have also said that politics is the art of the possible. Therefore I would like to ask you if there is an opportunity to conclude a treaty on strategic offensive arms with the current US Administration if the US side continues insisting on preserving the SDI program?

Answer: I am sure there is still an opportunity to conclude the treaty this year. First, I am encouraged in this optimism by the progress that has been achieved over this period between Washington and Moscow and the exchange of opinions that was conducted here almost round-the-clock. It warrants such an optimistic appraisal.

Question (the newspaper *Il Messaggero*, Italy) I would like to ask you if, after your pronouncements, President Reagan said something about the United States' obligations under the Geneva accords on Afghanistan.

Answer: It seemed to me that not only the President but all the members of the United States delegation realize the importance of a successful solution to the Afghan conflict on the principles that have been laid down in Geneva. I think that the exchange of opinions on this theme was sincere and useful.

Question (National Public Radio, USA) Mr. General Secretary, you have been asked several times in the past few days if a fifth summit with the President of the United States is possible. You have answered as a rule that it is possible, but that everything depends on how matters proceed at the Moscow summit. Has it achieved such a progress as would warrant the holding of a fifth summit with President Reagan this fall?

Answer: I think that the holding of a summit is possible only on one condition—if we have an opportunity to achieve a treaty on strategic offensive arms reduction which takes into consideration the entire range of questions, including the problems of ABM and sea-based Cruise missiles. I do not go into details. All this is in the area of talks and exchange of opinions. Since I state the possibility of achieving a treaty, I believe that the possibility of a fifth summit still remains a reality. It is only with this matter that I link the possibility of a fifth meeting.

Question (newspaper *New York Daily News*, USA) We are all amazed at the degree of openness which exists in your society. Americans were yesterday also amazed at the tone of

the speech of President Reagan at Moscow University. We were surprised at the fact that the Soviet press has not contained a word about that speech by the President. What is your reaction to that speech?

Answer: Regrettably, I have not been able so far to familiarize myself either with President Reagan's speech at the meeting with writers or with his speech at the meeting at Moscow University. Nevertheless, I think that these meetings were useful. At any rate the comrades who are better informed of these meetings said that they had been useful. As to our press, its representatives are present here and if they have not yet managed to publish some reports, I think they will do so.

Question (SANA news agency, Syria): Mikhail Sergeyevich, Arab countries highly appreciate the just words you have said recently about the Palestinian people who have been waging these days a courageous struggle against the Israeli occupants. Tell us please what you have achieved at your meetings with Mr. Reagan on the Palestinian question and on the Middle East settlement in general.

Answer: We noted that there have appeared real aspects related to a political settlement of the Middle East situation.

First, there exists in the world community, also among the permanent members of the Security Council, the awareness of the need for settlement in the framework of an international conference. It is quite a different matter that the question of its content has not yet been elucidated. Then, there is an awareness that there exist the interests of Syria, there exist the interests of the Palestinian people, the interests of Israel, the interests of other countries of the region who are affected by this conflict.

We stand for a political settlement of all issues, with due account for the interests of all sides concerned and, of course, for the fundamental provisions of the relevant UN resolutions. This implies that all the Israeli-occupied lands be returned and the Palestinian people's right be restored. We told President Reagan how we view the role of the United States, but we cannot decide for the Arabs in what form the Palestinians will take part in the international conference. Let the Arabs themselves decide, while the Americans and we should display respect for their choice.

Furthermore, we ought to recognize the right of Israel to security and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. In what form—let the Palestinians together with their

Arab friends decide that This opens up prospects for active exchanges, for a real process Anyway, it seems to me that such an opportunity is emerging

I will disclose one more thing we said that following the start of a conference—a normal, effective conference, rather than a front for separate talks—a forum which would be inter-related with bilateral, tripartite and other forms of activity, we would be ready to handle the issue of settling diplomatic relations with Israel

We are thus introducing one more new element This shows that we firmly stand on the ground of reality on the ground of recognition of the balance of interests Naturally, there are principal issues—the return of the lands, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination I should reiterate we proceed from the premise that the Israeli people and the state of Israel have the right to their security because there can be no security of one at the expense of the other A solution that would untie this very tight knot should be found

Question (newspaper *Trybuna Ludu*, Poland) Comrade General Secretary, you said this morning that issues of conventional arms in Europe would be considered today Now you have said that the West rejects the Soviet proposal in this area We know that your initiative also comprises proposals put forward by other socialist countries, Poland included What, in your view, is the future solution to this issue? What can be expected after Vienna? For your program contains even some replies to the aspirations of Western countries Social Democratic and other parties

Answer: To be fully objective, I ought to say the following the American side does not refuse to consider the subject of the talks on the basis of the accords reached in Geneva at our Foreign Ministers' meeting It evaded making a statement and jointly recording an attitude to this question at the Moscow meeting

That is why I should be absolutely objective so as not to cast any aspersions on the American side when such important matters are dealt with They argue that they have to consult the other participants But we say that what we have proposed does not contradict the necessity to consult It appears that something is being withheld Nevertheless I believe that the prospects for defining the mandate of the Vienna conference are real

I must say that the question of this conference's mandate

was being linked to a certain extent by the American side with other CSCE issues, especially with the humanitarian sphere. There too a live, vigorous process is going on, a collision of views is taking place and they are being compared. I am of the opinion that solutions are possible.

We hold that in its foreign policy the Soviet Union should always take into account the opinion of both Eastern and Western Europe. That is exactly the way we are trying to work with our allies. Now this is being done better and we have a regular exchange of views. With the West European countries too we are trying to conduct matters in such a way that there would be full clarity and understanding. We want to build our common European home together.

Question (by a British journalist): There is a widespread view that the differences between the American approach to the SDI program and your position are the main obstacle to the conclusion of the START treaty. Have you succeeded in achieving any progress in removing the differences in respect of the SDI program in the course of this summit? If you have, what concrete progress has been achieved? Do you continue to think as before that this is the biggest obstacle to concluding a treaty on strategic offensive arms?

Answer: I will first answer the last question. Yes, that is what I think because SDI means destabilization. It defies normal logic—to scale down strategic offensive arms on Earth and at the same time to build bridges for an arms race in outer space. The American side is trying to persuade us that these are only defensive weapons.

We do not think so. And we are competent to pass such a judgement. If the arms race is moved to outer space, this is fraught with a most serious destabilization of the entire situation in the world. I reminded the President: in Geneva we stated that we will not strive for military superiority. You have the impression, I told him, that you have a possibility to surpass us by way of outer space, to achieve an advantage. Thereby you retreat from the Geneva statement. We had a pointed discussion on the philosophical aspect of this “defensive” system.

Then there was yet another moment. In order to convince us to support SDI, the American side stated its readiness to share secrets with us when it achieves any real results in this matter. I told the President: Mr. President, permit me to disagree with you and put this assurance in doubt. The two sides at present are trying in vain to reach agreement on the

verification of the presence of sea-launched cruise missiles on two or three classes of ships. You are not prepared for this and refuse to consent. How can we believe that you will suddenly open all secrets related to SDI? This is not serious, this is beyond the framework of real politics.

Yet, while conducting such a philosophical discussion involving military strategy, we nevertheless agreed to act on the basis of the Washington statement, especially since it contains several concrete matters.

I will illustrate this: coming out for strict observance of the ABM Treaty and a commitment not to withdraw from it in the course of an agreed-upon period of time and considering the position taken by the American side, the Soviet side tabled a compromise proposal on this question on which views differ. In particular we proposed to carry out the following.

First. To exchange data related to work in the ABM field, to hold meetings of experts, to conduct mutual visits of testing sites where work in this field is being conducted.

Second. To exchange information with the aim of avoiding lack of confidence that the commitments adopted by the sides are being observed.

Third. To effect verification of compliance with commitments, up to and including inspections at sites giving rise to concern from the sides.

Fourth. To hold consultations to consider situations which, in the opinion of either side, place its highest interests in jeopardy.

In the course of the consultations the sides shall use all possible means to settle the situations on a mutually acceptable basis.

Thereby the completion of the drafting of the treaty on a 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive arms in 1988, as you see, will require considerable effort but we remain confident that this is possible.

This is the first time that I have given such a detailed answer to this question.

Question (*The Guardian*, Great Britain): There are five thousand journalists in Moscow covering the summit. The Soviet Union's internal policy took an unexpected turn for them when in his television interview Mr. Yeltsin suddenly called for the resignation of Mr. Ligachev. Mr. Burlatsky, Mrs. Zaslavskaya as well as Mr. Yuri Afanasyev have suddenly started speaking about difficulties which are encoun-

tered in the elections of delegates to the forthcoming Party conference. You call for the proponents of perestroika to be participants and delegates of the conference but at present only some manifestations of perestroika are evident. What is your personal view of the process of political perestroika in the Soviet Union as the Party conference approaches and what do you think of Mr. Yeltsin's call for Mr. Ligachev's resignation?

Answer: The course of perestroika and its prospects are fully outlined in the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee on this question. Sitting before you is one of the compilers of these Theses. Also taking part in this were all the members of the Politburo, the entire leadership. The Theses express our collective opinion concerning the platform for the forthcoming Party conference and the prospects of perestroika. I think that the conference will give mighty second wind to the entire process of perestroika along all the main directions. We will act resolutely but with circumspection. A huge country, a huge responsibility. We should not put either ourselves, our friends or the world community in a difficult situation. In the course of their personal experience of perestroika our people are changing, just as we ourselves. We have emerged from one stage, analyzed it, drawn lessons, elaborated our plans and are searching for ways.

In the main we have found them, but there remain many tactical and practical problems. It is not always, maybe, that things are moving successfully, it is not always that we find the correct solution to some matters. Setbacks occur. But if we are to speak of the main thing—perestroika is picking up speed and the people are for perestroika. Society is in motion, the Party is undergoing renewal, all spheres of society are in the process of renewal.

Of course, in our society you can find facts to illustrate any theme and thereby fulfil any assignment that the publishers of your newspapers will give you. Whatever task is set to you you will confirm by concrete facts. At this summit there were some attempts to use facts out of context. After all, any facts can be selected. The thing is to see the tendency of phenomena in generalized form, their direction and their perspective.

As to Comrade Yeltsin's interview to the BBC, I am in total ignorance about it. (A voice, in the hall, 'and ABC') I was compelled yesterday to say that I know nothing about this. Of course, this does not do me credit. But you too did

not do much for me to learn about this in time I have asked for the full texts of what Comrade Yeltsin said I want to read them If the correspondents who interviewed him could provide me with a full recording, without any tape editing, I would be grateful

Yeltsin is a member of the Central Committee The things he is speaking about were discussed at last year's October plenary meeting There were 27 speakers, they spoke without any preparation whatsoever, like here at the press conference And his speech too came as an absolute surprise Taking place at the plenary meeting was an exchange of views about the report to be made on the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution But Yeltsin took the floor and the exchange of views began immediately All the 27 comrades were unanimous that Comrade Yeltsin's generalizations and conclusions concerning various aspects of the Central Committee's activity, the situation in the Politburo and the work of the Secretariat were wrong His speech was qualified as politically erroneous So a discussion took place and a decision was passed In this particular case it might be that Comrade Yeltsin disagrees with the decision of the Party's Central Committee Then we in the Central Committee should ask Comrade Yeltsin what this is about and what he is pressing for

As to Comrade Ligachev resigning, no such problem exists in the Party's Central Committee, in the Politburo I advise you to proceed from this

Question (the Soviet magazine *USA Economics, Politics, Ideology*) Not only journalists but also politologists who consider themselves experts on US affairs have come to Moscow Many of them say that the conservative forces in the United States, which tried to prevent the ratification of the Treaty, are now closing ranks, believing that the process of developing relations between the USSR and the United States is proceeding too rapidly and that they should take all measures so as to stop this movement or to reverse it regardless of what position is taken by the future Administration Did you speak about this with President Reagan and what do you think about these forces?

Answer: I think that if you put this question to the President, and he is to appear before you soon, he will give you a better answer In any case, the views of American conservatives will have little influence on us

Question (US television company NBC) Concerning your

conservatives, Mr General Secretary An analysis was conducted in America and also in your country and according to it you have only three or five years left in which to ensure the success of perestroika If you fail, you will be outstripped by conservatives and critics inside the Communist Party of the Soviet Union What is your personal assessment of what has been achieved to ensure the success of perestroika that is necessary for your great society's survival?

Answer: This is what I will say The most important thing in our perestroika is that through democracy and openness we have already drawn the people into it, while by way of perfecting our political system we will substantially strengthen this tendency It may be that there are places and processes that perestroika has not yet influenced but today it is present already everywhere

The other day, for instance, there was a debate on Sakhalin Island As a result of it, a plenum of the regional Party committee was convened and discussed the opinions of working people, Communists The plenum found their remarks and demands to be just, found it necessary to strengthen the Party leadership in the region and adopted decisions that were needed for the process of democratization on Sakhalin to gain momentum So perestroika has reached Sakhalin But it also is spreading in depth, penetrating all spheres

In the course of three years nobody has proposed a convincing alternative to the policy of perestroika and I am convinced that no such alternative exists It is necessary to restructure, to renovate the country on the basis of our principles, our ideals, using the tremendous material, spiritual and intellectual potential of society The Party and the people have the strength to carry out perestroika and accomplish a breakthrough There is no alternative to perestroika and perestroika will be victorious It may know occasional retreats, manoeuvres, even setbacks, but this will not change the main direction of our society's development We have embarked on a path of irreversible changes

Question (Portuguese newspaper *Diario de Noticias*) I would like to hear your views on Angola Secondly, when speaking of the results of the meeting, you repeated several times the words "missed", "let slip a chance"

Answer: Better 'let slip' than "missed" "Missed" is forever, while 'let slip' applies only to this meeting and we still have a possibility to go again for this chance in the future

As to Angola, I must say that we had an interesting, substantive and realistic exchange of views. Both the Americans and we stated the possibility of advancement towards settling that regional conflict, providing, both sides stressed, strict observance of the UN Security Council's relevant resolutions, the exclusion of South Africa's interference in Angolan affairs and the granting of independence to Namibia. We are not involved in that process directly, but we supported the talks conducted by the Angolans, Cubans and South Africans through US mediation. If all the parties believe that the Soviet Union should join in more specifically in addition to expressing its considerations, we are prepared for that, too. Anyway, such was the discussion: it was based on the understanding that this process can bring about a positive result.

Question (newspaper *Izvestia*) First of all, I want to say that our newspaper published today a rather detailed account of President Reagan's remarks at the House of Writers and at Moscow State University. This is in reply to the question asked by my American colleagues. We, in watching the Soviet-American dialogue, have always felt that initially the difficulties related to verification and inspection originated from our side. Now we think that the accent has moved to the American side. Has the summit confirmed this reorientation?

Answer: Your observations are correct. And we discussed that, relying on facts. It has turned out that previous statements were largely bluff. Now, on starting to deal with real processes, we are in a very resolute mood. Verification should be real, effective. In the field of verification, thanks to the experience gained in elaborating the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, we now cooperate constructively. We think that solutions will be found on these issues as well.

Question (newspaper *L'Unita*, Italy) President Reagan cited a saying, "It was born, it wasn't rushed." Still, what we are witnessing is a resolute turn for the better in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. What is Europe's role in that process, and don't you think that Europe should join this process more actively?

Answer: In all the processes so far, Europe was not only present, but actively participated in defining problems that became subjects of discussion at the summit meetings between the US President and the General Secretary. This also applies to our East European allies. So Europe, both East and West, is always there, acting and making its dynamic contribution.

We will act precisely in this manner. I know that President Reagan has stated just that. Moreover, today, when the world is looking for answers to burning, hard questions, I see no way for a successful solution of international problems without Europe which possesses unique historic, intellectual, diplomatic and political experience, without the European contribution.

Question (*Literaturnaya Gazeta*): The previous edition of our weekly published a dispatch by our US-based correspondent Iona Andronov regarding 300 Soviet servicemen in Afghanistan who had been forced across the border inside Pakistan. The publication was immediately followed by letters to the Editorial Board with inquiries about their fate. In discussing regional conflicts, has this question been raised during your conversation with President Reagan?

Answer: I have also received letters from some mothers of these soldiers. We approached the American side in order to consider this question practically. Such discussions have been held. We did not discuss this matter specifically with President Reagan. But it began to be elaborated at working level, at the level of experts. I will add that this problem has also been raised before Pakistan. We will do everything so that our people return home.

Question (*Los Angeles Times*, United States): Presidential elections are held in the United States every four years, no matter whether they are needed or not. But the President is limited to eight years in office. Your term as General Secretary has not been strictly defined. Many Americans would like to know how long you intend to remain in your post.

Answer: This does not depend on my intentions, although your notions of our democracy are such as if the people were not involved. This is another fact showing that we have false notions of each other. Nevertheless, I shall answer your question. This problem related to Party and other elective bodies will be referred to the Party Conference, taking into account what has already been stated briefly in the theses. It will be reflected in the new election law. So all this will be put on a basis of law.

Question (the newspaper *Rizospastis*, Greece): Mikhail Sergeyevich, in your opening speech you have mentioned a number of regional conflicts. But you have not touched upon the southern part of Europe, the Mediterranean, the Cyprus problem. Does this mean that these questions have not come

up for discussion at the talks, or that the differences were so great that there has been no progress? Do you intend to visit Greece this year?

Answer As to the first question, I shall say this. We have raised these problems during intensive exchanges of opinions in working groups, but they have not been developed because of the lack of interest on the US part. As to my visits, we plan them, and when there is clarity, we shall surely avail ourselves of the invitation and pay the visit.

Question (NHK TV, Japan) What other regional Asian problems, apart from Kampuchea and Afghanistan, have you discussed with President Reagan? Have you discussed the situation on the Korean Peninsula in connection with the coming Olympic Games?

Answer. We spoke of Afghanistan, Kampuchea, and the situation on the Korean Peninsula. I gathered the impression—to tell the truth, we did not have enough time to exchange detailed opinions on the latter question—that the American side is aware that some headway in this respect is needed. Our negotiating partners negatively described the stand of North Korea. We, on the contrary, described the stand of the DPRK government to the President as constructive and inviting a dialogue and that the DPRK government is prepared, both on a bilateral basis and with the participation of the Americans, to conduct an exchange of views on the present-day state of affairs and on prospects for reunification, on the principles on the basis of which the nation should reunite. We said that this was exactly the opportunity which had not been used so far.

Question (*Al Hawadis* magazine, Lebanon) You said that during the summit, the positions on the Middle East problem drew closer together. Could you specify in what exactly the stands of the United States and the Soviet Union on this matter coincide? Will Mr. Shultz take with him some joint position for his trip to the region? And, secondly, yesterday Mr. Reagan did not say anything about the Middle East when addressing students at Moscow State University. Today you did not say anything about the situation in the Persian Gulf area. But today you said that Afghanistan could be used as an example for a settlement of a similar situation in Kampuchea and elsewhere. Could you elaborate?

Answer: About the Middle East I want to repeat once again that, firstly, there are elements which make it possible to state that the positions were brought closer together and

first of all the recognition that an international conference is needed. Secondly, there is awareness that within the framework of such a conference, it would be possible to involve other forums. There is awareness that the provisions of appropriate UN resolutions should be utilized. I think there are aspects which will require examination. These are the essence and content of such a conference, the question of Palestine, and of the PLO's participation in the negotiating process. And, finally, the United States of America is aware that the Soviet Union should participate in such a settlement.

We gave the Americans an opportunity to work on that for several years. They did and saw that nothing came out of that. After they saw that, we resumed the dialogue.

For our part, we are ready for constructive cooperation.

As to the Persian Gulf. This question was discussed rather thoroughly. We adhered to the view that the conflict there is very serious and everything should be done for it not to develop in a dangerous direction. This is why we say it is essential to use to the full the potential inherent in the first resolution of the UN Security Council and to enable the UN Secretary General or his envoy to utilize the potential and to secure cessation of hostilities.

I think we correctly call for restraint and for a display of composure. We advocate settlement of the conflict. The threat of its spread with dangerous consequences is real. We are calling on the Americans. Let us relieve the Persian Gulf of the US military presence. Let us rather introduce a United Nations force so that the process would not be spurred in a wrong, dangerous direction.

Question (*The Washington Post* USA) Could you elaborate on the Soviet stand on SDI. Did the American side make it clear that there was an opportunity to resolve the question of a mandate for the Vienna meeting on conventional arms?

Answer: The joint statement has a point which confirms the Washington statement and the recognition of the need for intensive work in this sphere on the basis of both American proposals, specifically on gauges and sensors, and our proposals. So, it does contain specifics which the negotiators should thoroughly discuss.

Secondly, I am always for accuracy in wording but in this case, perhaps, I was inaccurate. I am not a professional diplomat, you know. At Geneva, there was an exchange of views on the questions of the Vienna meeting and on a

mandate for the conference and, specifically, the negotiators tackled the subject-matter for the talks. Now a few words as to whether mutual understanding of the two sides, American and Soviet, was achieved. There was a formula which Comrade Eduard Shevardnadze read out at this meeting. Mr Shultz confirmed that the formula had been really transmitted to the negotiators in Vienna but that the process of discussion was not carried through over there. And here, in Moscow, it was again the subject of a very thorough study but the work was not completed for reasons which I already mentioned.

Question (*New York Times* USA) Mr General Secretary, when you were in Washington, you told Mr Reagan that the Soviet Union was prepared to discontinue the supply of arms to Nicaragua if the United States stopped funding the contras. Then, later on, Mr Shevardnadze and George Shultz discussed the question and we were told that the Soviet stand did not change, i.e. if the USA stops deliveries to Central America, the Soviet Union will discontinue deliveries to Nicaragua. Could you confirm that this is really so and that you discussed this question within the context of consideration of the state of affairs in Central America?

Answer: Today we discussed this problem in a very detailed manner, and made an excursion into history. When we make such an excursion, we reveal different points of view and explanations. I suggested, nevertheless, that one should proceed from today's realities. There is the Contadora process, there are the Guatemala agreements, there is a truce, and there is movement in the search for a political settlement. And it is essential, by relying on this process, to support it, giving an opportunity to the opposing forces in Nicaragua to decide this question themselves with the participation of other Latin Americans and representatives of Central America.

I told President Reagan that I was reaffirming what had been said during strolls in the White House. Let us limit ourselves to the delivery of police weapons.

In general, this subject will be examined in future as well. We urged the Americans to take it into consideration that the process had reached such a stage when it could be completed positively. Over there a certain colonel of the Somoza Army appeared. He served Somoza well and is now serving America. He makes every effort to frustrate the entire process. I don't know, maybe the colonel should be replaced by a sergeant who will be closer to the people and matters would be settled more speedily.

Question (Soviet television) Speaking of foreign policy aspects of perestroika, it has spread far to the East beyond Sakhalin and far to the West beyond Brest. I mean the immense attention of the public, of ordinary people, to the goings-on, and the desire to get an insight into the holy of holies of the process. Hundreds of people from among anti-war organizations from all over the world arrived in Moscow and followed the talks. I know that tomorrow you will have a meeting with public and anti-war organizations. Considering all that, what is your opinion about the role of the public and people's diplomacy in the entire process taking place over the past three years?

Answer I have expressed my opinions on that score more than once but, summing up, I can say today. We would have made a great error in politics if we did not pay attention to very deep changes in the sentiments of the world public and ordinary people on Earth. They have got sick and tired of wars, tensions, conflicts, and of vast amounts of information which mars the present day and promises a still worse future. People came to feel that not always their will, word and desire, aspiration and interests find reflection in real politics. They have begun to act, uniting into appropriate organizations and bringing into use everything they have available. We see among members of the movements both ordinary people and intellectuals—physicians, scientists, former military officers, veterans, young people, and children. I think all this is very serious and if someone thinks that there is anyone's "hand" in it, I would like to shake that hand because this is a powerful hand which stirred to action vigorous forces.

The world feels that changes are needed. Life itself has raised such questions that people came to feel the need to directly intervene in politics. Only a policy, fertilized by the experience of the masses, their sentiments, their will, and using the competence of scientists and enriched by ethics and by contribution which intellectuals and people of culture can make—only such a policy has a prospect and only such a policy is adequate to the real processes which are under way and has a right to existence nowadays.

Question (Associated Press, USA) Mr. General Secretary, do you agree with such an evaluation of American-Soviet relations of the past period of detente when main attention was devoted to economic cooperation and to the observance of political tolerance? To what extent, in your view, both

superpowers can and must be interdependent from the economic point of view?

Answer: I think that both today's and tomorrow's realities, if analyzed in earnest, bring us to the view that we must cooperate and this would be in the interests of both our two peoples and of the whole world. I visualize a future world in which the American and Soviet peoples would cooperate, in the economic sphere, too, and would exchange the fruits of their labor, complementing each other. This is why I elucidated the idea of a joint space flight to Mars so as to compete not in who gets ahead in the amount of weapons but rather in combining our potentials—scientific, economic and intellectual, and setting an example of cooperation in this direction. This would promote progress very much, never mind affording greater scope to our cooperation and working for greater confidence between our two peoples. Yesterday I was pressurizing the President on these matters in public, using forbidden tricks, and he said "Yes, we shall think it over." And to my mind, his words convey the idea that it is necessary to begin to study the problems.

Now, I would like to say goodbye. You should conserve your energies for a meeting with President Reagan. Thank you for your active participation and I must apologize that perhaps I have not been able to answer all the questions. There are so many of you willing to put a question. But I welcome your immense interest in the fourth Soviet-American summit and I thank you for cooperation. Till we meet again.

RONALD REAGAN GIVES A PRESS CONFERENCE

Statement by Ronald Reagan

Please be seated. I have a statement. First, if just this one time, I might speak for all of you as well as myself, I would like to extend my thanks to General Secretary Gorbachev, all of his associates in the Soviet government, and the people of Moscow for all they've done to make our stay here a pleasant one and this summit conference the success it has been.

This is my fourth summit. For some in our governments and some in the media, the number is higher. But a good deal

of important work has been accomplished here in Moscow. And the relationship between Mr. Gorbachev and me, and the various members of our respective delegations, has continued to deepen and improve.

But personal relationships and hopes for peace are not by themselves enough. I think history will note that in our approach to the summit process, the United States has sought a consistency of expression as well as purpose. While at every turn, I've tried to state our overwhelming desire for peace, I have also tried to note the existence of fundamental differences. And that's why it's a source of great satisfaction that those differences, in part as a result of these meetings, continue to recede.

In addition, spokesmen for the Soviet government have noted the change of policy; indeed, the profound change of policy that has occurred in their own government. The United States is fully cognizant of this change and aware of its implications. In noting the differences that still stand between us, therefore, my desire has not been to sound a note of discouragement, but one of realism; not to conduct a tutorial, but to give the kind of emphatic testimony to the truth that, over the long run, removes illusion and moves the process of negotiation forward.

From our standpoint, this approach has borne fruit at previous meetings and at this summit conference. And here, permit me to go back for just a moment to our first summit meeting at Geneva. There we agreed on certain fundamental realities that would govern our relations—that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought; that the United States and the Soviet Union bear special responsibilities for avoiding the risk of war; that neither side should seek military superiority over the other. We affirmed our determination to prevent war, whether nuclear or conventional, and our resolve to contribute in every way possible, along with other nations, to a safer world.

We also set out a broad agenda and initiated a new process of dialogue to address the sources of tension in US-Soviet relations. Since Geneva, we have achieved through a sustained effort progress across this broad agenda. Our first discussions here in Moscow focused on the important matter of human rights, individual freedoms. The United States views human rights as fundamental to our relationship with the Soviet Union and all nations. From the beginning, we've

stressed this point and are encouraged by recent signs of progress in the Soviet Union

I believe that where people have the right to speak, write, travel, and worship freely, creative energies are released. On several occasions I've said that nations do not distrust each other because they're armed, they are armed because they distrust each other.

For the past three years, General Secretary Gorbachev and I have worked to build a relationship of greater trust. And we both recognize that one way to do that is to improve understanding between our two countries through broader people-to-people contacts. A series of agreements to expand US-Soviet bilateral cooperation, including cultural exchanges, have been concluded. We agreed to expand our student exchange programs, with a goal of allowing hundreds, and eventually thousands, of Soviet and American high school students to study in each other's classrooms. For our relations, academic, cultural and other exchanges are of greater importance.

Turning to regional issues, Mr. Gorbachev and I agree that there must be peaceful solutions to these conflicts. Our goal is to advance independence, security, and freedom. The Soviet decision to withdraw from Afghanistan is significant. And we agree that building on the Afghan settlement leads to an approach to other regional problems.

Our discussions also dealt with Cambodia, Angola, Ethiopia, the Middle East and the Persian Gulf and Central America. Each of our summit meetings moved us farther toward an INF Treaty, capped by today's exchange of ratification instruments, which now makes it a reality. Each meeting has also moved us farther toward meeting the even greater challenge of drafting a treaty to reduce our strategic nuclear arsenals.

In Geneva, the General Secretary and I agreed on the concept of 50 percent reductions, and in Reykjavik, on numerical limits for warheads and delivery vehicles, in Washington, on intensive work to complete a START treaty, including comprehensive verification provisions building upon those in INF. Here in Moscow, we've made important additional strides toward that objective. Verification is one of the most important and most difficult issues for us. And I'm pleased to report progress in this area too.

We've moved forward in other areas as well, including agreements on an experiment to improve the verification of

existing nuclear testing treaties and on notification of strategic ballistic missile launches.

Finally, let me say how deeply moving I have found my discussions with various citizens of the Soviet Union. The monks of Danilov, the dissidents and refuseniks, the writers and artists, the students and young people have shown once again that spiritual values are cherished in this nation. It's my fervent hope that those values will attain even fuller expression.

And now, I will be happy to take your questions and, Helen, we begin with you.

Question: Mr. President, I know you've touched on this, but at your first news conference in 1981, you said that the Soviets lie and cheat and pursue their ends of world domination. What has really changed your mind? Can the American people really trust the Russians now? And I'd like to follow up.

Answer: Well, Helen, that was the first press conference that I'd held since being elected President. And the question that came to me was, could we believe the Russians or did they—would lie to us. And my answer at that time was not expressing my opinion. I said, I will answer that with their own words. And then I cited some of the leaders of the communist movement in the Soviet Union that said that the only immorality was anything that slowed the growth of socialism. And that there was no immorality in lying, or cheating or doing anything of that kind, as long as it advanced the cause of socialism. Now, that was my answer. So, it wasn't an opinion, I was quoting what their leaders themselves—the beginners of that particular system—said.

Question: Well, that's what you thought then. Do you still think that, and can you now declare the Cold War over?

Answer: I think right now, of course, as I've said, *doveryai* no *proveryai*—trust but verify.

Question: Well, is that the atmosphere now?

Answer: But I think that there is quite a difference today in the leadership and in the relationship between our two countries, and we have held very productive meetings that I think were productive for both sides.

Question: Mr. President, on the START treaty, what are the areas of progress and what's the specific progress that you achieved here? And why do you think that you can achieve—can conclude a treaty this year when Senate leaders are urging

you to go slow, and this summit, with all its momentum, wasn't able to break the impasse?

Answer Well, the Senate leaders themselves brought the ratification papers here that we just received today on the INF Treaty. It meant changing their own schedules a great deal and speeding up the ratification process. I think that we could count on them to feel the same if we are coming to final agreement on a START treaty.

But I want to remind you of one thing that we've said over and over again. The START treaty is infinitely more complex than the INF Treaty, and therefore there is going to be continued negotiation on a number of points. And then it will depend on the Senate once if we have agreed upon a treaty, it is their responsibility to thoroughly study that treaty and then issue ratification of it if they find it satisfactory.

We can hope. I would hope that before the year is out that we could eliminate the differences that still exist, but if not I would hope that my successor would continue, because here we are getting at, I think, the most important reduction that should take place in nuclear weapons. The most destabilizing are the intercontinental ballistic missiles in which someone pushes a button and minutes later a part of the Earth blows up. And the thing that I express my hope about is that not only have we said 50 percent, but in that first meeting in Geneva the General Secretary proposed the idea also of reducing by half our nuclear missiles.

Question To follow up, Sir, could you go over the areas of progress on START that you achieved here?

Answer No, I don't think that I should go on. The conversations are still going on, and there are things still being discussed, and, as I say, progress has been made or we wouldn't still be talking the way we are, but

There's a young lady in the back that I think is native to the scene.

Question Mr. President, is there something in Soviet-American relations that you would advise your successor to leave behind? And is there something that you would specially advise to take to the future?

Answer Wait a minute. If I heard the entire question—special advice on what?

Question: Is there something in Soviet-American relations that you would advise your successor to leave behind, and is there something specific that you would advise him to take to the future? To follow up, yes.

Answer: Yes. If these negotiations and so forth are still going on, I will do everything I can to persuade my successor to follow up and to continue and—as a matter of fact, I think I'll tell him that he will find the Russian people most warm and hospitable and friendly.

Question: Mr. President, Soviet officials have told us they have dossiers on all of the dissidents, and that some of those people, in fact, they've said that all those people are not the best people representing Soviet society. How do you feel about the fact that they have kept dossiers on these dissidents with whom you met, and doesn't that contradict your view that there have been improvements here and that this is a more open society under Mr. Gorbachev?

Answer: Well, no, the figures themselves reveal that improvements have been made. Some 300 people have been freed from imprisonment. A number of people—the lists that we bring are names that have been brought to our attention by relatives or friends—their own relatives, for example, living in our country now, and I have brought those names to the General Secretary and explained the personal interest that we have in them. And a great many of them have since been allowed to come to our country or to other countries that they preferred, such as Israel. And so I think there has been a sizable improvement, and we still are going to continue doing that.

Question: But Sir, what about the fact that the very people with whom you met have now been investigated by Soviet authorities and might be subject to some form of retaliation? Mr. Gorbachev said today that you no longer feel that this is the evil empire, that you told him that within the Kremlin walls. Doesn't this contradict your new feeling of optimism about the Soviet Union?

Answer: No, because as I say, he has received the latest list that I brought here, and previous experiences with this—a great many of those people have been allowed to come to our country.

Question: Sir, yesterday you did say you no longer believed the Soviet Union is an evil empire. You said that was another time, another era. What's changed? Is it just Mr. Gorbachev's succession to the general secretaryship, or have you yourself changed or expanded your view of the Soviet Union?

Answer: No. I think that a great deal of it is due to the General Secretary, who I have found different than previous

Soviet leaders have been. But that also as we have pursued this, we have found them willing to enter into negotiations with us. And I think that enough progress has been made that we can look with optimism on future negotiations.

Question: Sir, I suppose I'm asking if you think that there's anything that you have learned, that you personally have expanded or changed your views because you've had an opportunity to learn more about this country over the years, and about their system, so that you think you are part of the process, or is it just Gorbachev?

Answer: Well, a large part of it is Mr. Gorbachev as a leader, and I think there have been changes here as they have sought to make... Well, I read *Perestroika*, and I found much in it that I could agree with. Bill?

Question: Mr. President, Mr. Gorbachev said in his news conference that he thought you could have achieved more in this summit. Specifically, he went on to say that on the issue of the ABM interpretation of the treaty, said that you had gone back on your word, that in Geneva you had agreed that you would no longer seek military superiority, and that by holding to SDI—the development of SDI—you were seeking superiority in outer space. And that, therefore, you had gone back on your word. Are you seeking superiority in outer space? Can you reach a START agreement without some accommodation on SDI and the ABM question?

Answer: SDI, in my mind—maybe some of my people wouldn't agree with me, but the whole thing was my idea—to see if there could not be developed a defensive weapon that would make it virtually impossible for nuclear missiles to get through to their targets in another country. And from the very beginning I have said that if and when such a system can be developed, I would support the idea of making it available worldwide, because since we all know how to make nuclear missiles, sometime there could be a madman come along, as a Hitler came along, who could then make those missiles, but that my idea would be the sharing of the knowledge of SDI, as a defensive weapon, would be accompanied by the total elimination of nuclear weapons. And I happen to believe that this will be a lot better world if we get rid of all the nuclear weapons. And that is what my dream of SDI is—that it can be the tool by which we eliminate.

Question: Well, Sir, if I may follow up—Mr. Gorbachev said today that he did not believe that it's for defensive purposes.

Answer I know you said that before, and I

Question Well, you failed to convince him, despite the fact that you're on such good terms with him

Answer Well, maybe he just doesn't know me well enough But from the very first I have said that that is my goal for that defensive weapon There is nothing offensive about it It cannot hurt or kill anyone It can just make it impossible for missiles to get through the screen

Now, you, and then I'm going to start spreading around here

Question Mr President, I want to ask you about this effort you again stated today to try to get a START treaty before you leave office You have less than eight months left in office Mikhail Gorbachev could have 20 years By setting up any kind of deadline, no matter how unofficial, aren't you putting all the pressure on the US side?

Answer Oh, no No We set no deadline I said we're going to continue working toward that And I could hope that maybe in that period of time, but, no, I am dead set against deadlines You don't make a treaty just to simply have it be achieved at a certain point in time The treaty is ready when it is a good treaty and good for all sides involved And that's what we'll do instead of setting a deadline and then saying, well, let's sign it because we've reached the deadline It has to be good

Question. If I might follow up Sir—there is also talk about a fifth summit sometime this year to sign a treaty, which might come sometime this fall To prevent US-Soviet relations from being mixed up in politics, are you willing to rule out a summit until the presidential campaign is over in November?

Answer I'd make any decision of that kind based on how I thought it could affect the situation And if it gave a promise of success, then go for it

Question Mr President, you were asked by one of the students at Moscow University yesterday about the practice in the United States of limiting presidential terms I believe you said you were going to go out on the mashed potato circuit next year and campaign for repeal of that constitutional amendment Were you aware that Mr Gorbachev, as part of his reforms, is promoting the idea of limited terms for the leader of the Soviet Union? And do you think it's a good idea for the Soviet Union?

Answer Well, I would hesitate to comment on that I mean, this system of government here—you do not have a

national election in which all of the people vote to see who would be the leader. My objection to the constitutional amendment that was passed in our country, limiting a president to two terms, was the fact that that is the only office in the United States in which all the people vote for the candidates for that office. And it seems to me that it is an infringement on the rights of our people in a democracy to tell them that they can't vote for someone because of a time limit. I think it impinges on their right to vote for whoever they want to vote for as many times as they want to vote for them. That is the principle of democracy.

Question Mr. President, if I may just ask one more question on the students—you talked a lot about how it is a positive thing for students from both countries to mix and mingle, to get to know each other, to understand each other. Do you think part of your positive feeling about the Soviet Union these days comes as a result of greater tolerance that you've developed as a result of your meetings with Mr. Gorbachev over the past few years?

Answer Well, I have found that Mr. Gorbachev and I have a very satisfactory relationship. But, at the same time, I am never going to relax my belief in the need for verification of agreements that we might make and I'm quite sure he feels the same way.

Now, where is the gentleman?

Question I'm here, Mr. President. I understand that in your first meeting with Mr. Gorbachev, he suggested the reduction of half a million military personnel as certain condition, but there was no follow-up, as it were. Was this subject raised again and what was your response?

Answer No, this proposal was just a suggestion made of the removal of a half a million men on the NATO men in the European front. This has to be considered. We think that we are coming to a point—and that he himself is willing to—of reductions in conventional weapons along that front and conventional forces as well as the nuclear forces. But the simple removing of a half a million men would not be exactly equal because his military men would be moved a short distance back away from the front. Well, there's a 3,000-mile ocean between where our men would have to be moved and, in the event of an emergency, we'd have an ocean to cross to get our men back there and equal. So that has to be considered.

Question. Mr. President, General Secretary Gorbachev, in

his remarks earlier this afternoon, was talking about your comments here on human rights, and he said, "I did not have a lot of admiration for that part of the trip." When you met with the General Secretary privately, we know, of course, that you discussed human rights. Did he say anything to you specifically about the meeting with dissidents, or your remarks at Danilov Monastery or the remarks yesterday at the Writers' Union?

Answer No, but I do know that he and others have had a feeling that in some way our concern with this is interfering with your internal government policies. I have explained to him, and I think maybe he has seen the point.

Our country is very unique. All of us, either by ourselves or through our ancestors or our grandparents or parents, came from someplace else—about the only nation in the world that can say that. As a matter of fact, the estimate is that one out of eight Americans trace their parentage and their heritage, if not their own immigration, to the Eastern Bloc. And so, I have put it this way, that you don't stop loving your mother because you've taken unto yourself a wife. So the people in America do have a feeling for the countries of their heritage. In my case, it was a great-grandfather on one side and a grandmother and grandfather on my mother's side. Well, Americans retain that feeling of friendship and loyalty to the countries that, as I say, are their heritage. And so, when we feel that people are being unjustly treated—imprisoned for something that in our country would not be a crime, calling for such a sentence—our people get aroused and they come to us and they want help. They want something done.

A wife, who has been waiting for eight years for her husband to be allowed to leave this country to join her—things of this kind we don't think are really interfering with someone else's business. We think it's very much our business to bring it to the attention where we feel that there is an injustice to the government. And I have explained this to the General Secretary, and I think he has seen the justice of what I've said, because many of the individuals that we've brought to his attention have now been released from confinement here and have been allowed to emigrate—come to other countries, to our country.

Question Mr. President, Mr. Gorbachev says that he proposed a draft statement that would use the words "peaceful coexistence." And he said that your first response to

that was, I like it. But that when you came back from meeting with your aides, you seem to have changed your mind. Did you, and why?

Answer: Well, I liked the whole tone, the general tone of it, and what it was seeking to achieve was what we're both seeking to achieve. But I said at the same time I would take it to our people, and I took it there, and they studied it and saw where there could have been certain ambiguities in there that would not achieve the general thought of what was being proposed. We were in agreement with the general thought. So, some rewriting was done by our own people, and when the total statement is released to you, I think you will find that we have achieved what it was he had with the paragraph that he proposed, and it's been achieved and improved to the point that it is clear and unmistakable, that it achieves the purpose that he had in mind.

Question: Well, if I could follow up, Sir, you've sort of teased us now, if you could give us some sense of what you've proposed to substitute for peaceful coexistence? What's the better term that your aides had advised you to use?

Answer: No, peaceful coexistence—the same—both pieces achieve the same end, but the other one had ambiguities in it, and I don't think they were intentional, but they could have been used to justify doing something else that was not in keeping with the entire goal of the statement here.

Question: Mr. President, if I could follow up on your comments on emigration, yesterday when you were talking about a family denied the right to emigrate, you called it a bureaucratic problem, you said you blamed the bureaucracy. Do you believe that essentially it is just bureaucratic lethargy that has caused that problem in the Soviet Union?

Answer: Well now, somebody distracted me back there. I think someone else thought I had pointed at them instead of you.

Question: Yesterday when you spoke to the students about emigration, and a family in particular that had been denied the right to emigrate, and you said you blamed the bureaucracy—do you view the emigration problem from the Soviet Union as essentially a problem of just a lethargic bureaucracy?

Answer: I'm afraid that I have to confess to you that I think one of the sins of government, and one with which we must deal and never have been able to be completely successful with—and this includes our own government—is that the

bureaucracy once created has one fundamental rule above all others—preserve the bureaucracy And I think that governments will always find that they are having to check on bureaucracy and make sure that it is not abiding by its own rules and taking the easiest course And so I wouldn't picking on one government other than another

Question If I could follow up, you said that you believed you persuaded Mr Gorbachev on some of these emigration questions But he said on human rights in the United States that he did not find your arguments convincing Do you consider that a failure in this summit?

Answer I think that there is a mistake—a mistaken view—and oh, how I yearn to have him come to our country for long enough to see some of our country I think there is a mistaken view about the things that occasionally dominate the press about prejudice, racial or religious in our country, about people—the so-called street people that apparently have no place to live And I think these problems—these are socio-economic problems in our land—we have them, of course We also try to deal with them But I don't think he quite could understand a recent situation A young lady living on the sidewalks of New York—living out there on the sidewalk, winter and summer And so, for her own sake, the police picked up to bring her to where she could be placed in a shelter And she took her case to court and won her case in court that she should be allowed to go back and sleep on the sidewalk where she had been, because that's what she preferred to do

Well, when you have a free country, how far can we go in impinging on the freedom of someone who says this is the way I want to live? And I think we can straighten him out if he saw what we did in our country

Question Mr President, in this room on Monday, you heard moving stories of people who had been—(inaudible)—and you wrote it off to bureaucracy Is that really your view that it is only the bureaucracy, it is not a willful policy of the government here to keep these people from emigrating?

Answer No I can't say that it's one I don't know that much about the system, but it was a question presented to me on the basis that it possibly was a bureaucratic bungle Maybe I should illustrate to you why I feel the way I do about bureaucracies Once during the war, I happened to be involved in a situation in which one level of the military wanted a warehouse full of filing cabinets, wanted permission to

destroy the files so they could use those filing cases, and they were able to prove that the documents had no historic value, they had no bearing on present-day government at all, they were just useless. And so the message went up through the ranks, requesting permission to destroy these obsolete files. And then, back down through the ranks, from the top command endorsed by each level of command, came the reply—permission granted, providing copies were made of each file destroyed.

Question Can I follow that up? Don't you think you're letting Mr. Gorbachev off a little easy on just saying it's a bureaucracy?

Answer No. As I said, I don't—the way the question was framed I thought that there was a possibility of that. No, but I just have to believe that in any government some of us do find ourselves bound in by bureaucracy and then sometimes you have to stomp your foot and say unmistakably I want it done. And then maybe you get through with it. But I have great confidence in his ability to do that, Lou?

Question Thank you, Sir. You said starting at the beginning of this year and going into this summit that if there was this progress toward a START treaty, you would be willing to come together a fifth time and sign it, but only if it was a good treaty. You've referred to that today again several times. What is your judgment, your best judgment on the basis of this summit, have you made enough progress that you now think that a START treaty is likely within your term?

Answer Lou, I honestly cannot answer that. I don't know. If I let me just give you what the mechanics are that our people have been steadily in Geneva—both sides, Soviet people and our people—working on this treaty, knowing what we hope to achieve, and they're working there. And, as I say, they've made progress. There is no way to judge, and there is no way that I would give them a date and say, please you have to get this by such and such a time, because that's not the way to get a good treaty. I want a good treaty.

Question Sir, if I could follow up. Is the only condition under which you would have a fifth summit with Mr. Gorbachev is if there was, in fact, what you thought was a good START treaty ready to be signed?

Answer Well, you can't rule it out. Something else might come up that necessitates our getting together and settling something other than that particular treaty. So, no one can say, no, there will be no need for a summit.

Question: Thank you, Mr. President

Answer: When Helen says that, I'm sorry, I have to leave

Question: Mr. President, what have you learned about the Soviet Union? What have you learned in your first trip to Moscow?

Answer: I'm going to do one answer because I've wanted to say this, and I say it any time I get a chance. I think that one of the most wonderful forces for stability and good that I have seen in the Soviet Union are the Russian women.

June 2, 1988

OFFICIAL FAREWELL CEREMONY FOR PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN IN THE GRAND KREMLIN PALACE

Speech by Mikhail Gorbachev

Esteemed Mr. and Mrs. Reagan,
In one hour, you'll be leaving Moscow.

I would first of all like to thank you and your colleagues for your cooperation, openness and businesslike approach to the talks we've had here.

I believe that we both have every reason to regard this meeting and your visit as a useful contribution to the development of the dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Mr. President, you and I have been dealing with each other for three years now. We've come a long way from the first exchange of letters to the conclusion of this meeting.

Our dialogue has not been easy. But we have mustered enough realism and political will to overcome obstacles and divert the train of Soviet-US relations from a dangerous track to a safer one. It has, however, been moving much more slowly so far than the real situation requires, both in our two countries and in the whole world.

But as I have understood, Mr. President, you're willing to continue our joint endeavors.

For my part, I can assure you that we will do everything in our power to go on moving forward.

Now, given the vast experience of Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington and Moscow and backed up by their achieve-

ments, we are simply duty-bound to display still greater determination and consistency. That is what the Soviet and American peoples, international public opinion and the entire world community are expecting of us.

I hope you will remember your stay here in this country with pleasure.

Mr President, Mrs Reagan,

When you return to America, please convey to the American people best wishes from the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Over the past three years our two nations have come to know each other better. They have now taken a really good look in each other's eyes and have a keener sense of the need to learn to live together on this beautiful planet Earth.

I wish you a good journey back home, Mr President and Mrs Reagan. To you and to all members of the US delegation I wish good health. Goodbye.

Speech by Ronald Reagan

Mr General Secretary, Mrs Gorbachev,

This is an emotional moment for Mrs Reagan and me. We have been truly moved by the warmth and the generous hospitality that we received from all of our Soviet hosts during this brief visit, but most especially from the two of you.

During this meeting, as in all of our previous meetings, I appreciated and valued our exchanges and the long hours of hard work that we and our experts put in to make progress on the difficult issues we face.

But this meeting has added something else for Mrs Reagan and me. Our time here has allowed us to know, if only briefly, your art treasures and your people, artists, writers, individuals from all walks of life, people who were willing to share with us their experiences, their fears, their hopes.

Mr General Secretary,

It is fitting that we are ending our visit as we began it, in this hall named for the Order of St George. I would like to think that our efforts during these past few days have slain a few dragons and advanced the struggle against the evils that threaten mankind, threats to peace and to liberty.

And I would like to hope that, like St. George, with God's help, peace and freedom can prevail.

And Mr. General Secretary,

If you will permit me just one more proverb, I think a very old and popular saying you have here about last Sunday, the day of our arrival, spoke to the promise that we've seen fulfilled at this summit in this Moscow spring. Truly then,

Troitsa—ves les raskroitsa (On Trinity Sunday, all the trees burst into blossom).

And now, if I may just conclude on a personal note. Earlier this week, at Moscow State University, I mentioned to the young people there that they appeared to my eyes exactly as would any group of students in my own country or anywhere else in the world. So Nancy and I find the faces, young and old, here on the streets of Moscow. At first, more than anything else, they were curious faces, but as the time went on, the smiles began and then the waves.

And I don't have to tell you, Nancy and I smiled back and waved just as hard.

Mr. General Secretary, I think you understand we are not just grateful to both you and Mrs. Gorbachev, but want you to know that we think of you as friends.

And in that spirit we would ask one further favor of you. Tell the people of the Soviet Union of the deep feelings of friendship felt by us and by the people of our country toward them.

Tell them, too. Nancy and I are grateful for their coming out to see us, grateful for their waves and smiles. And tell them we will remember all of our days, their faces, the faces of hope, hope for a new era in human history, an era of peace between our nations and our peoples. Thank You. God Bless You.

* * *

After the official farewell ceremony Mikhail Gorbachev, Ronald Reagan and their wives, all walking arm-in-arm, went down the central staircase to the exit from the Grand Kremlin Palace.

There, the President showed the General Secretary the issue of *Time* magazine that named Gorbachev "The Man of the Year", and asked for his autograph on the cover. After signing the magazine, the General Secretary told the President

“Mr President, we are parting I want to shake your hand and tell you once again we are satisfied with the substantive and extremely important discussions that took place during your visit

“We achieved human contact, which we appreciate very much We did a lot Happy journey to you, Mr President and Mrs Reagan ”

In reply, the President said they were parting like friends

Notes

ВСТРЕЧА В ВЕРХАХ

Москва, 29 мая — 2 июня 1968 года

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